

MICHAEL H. JAMESON

CULTS AND RITES in Ancient Greece

Essays on Religion and Society



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Cults and Rites in Ancient Greece

This volume assembles thirteen highly influential articles written by Michael H. Jameson over a period of nearly fifty years, edited and updated by the author himself. They represent both the scope and the signature style of Jameson's engagement with the subject of ancient Greek religion. The collection complements the original publications in two ways: firstly, it makes the articles more accessible; and secondly, the volume offers readers a unique opportunity to observe that over almost five decades of scholarship Jameson developed a distinctive method, a signature style, a particular perspective, a way of looking that could perhaps be fittingly called a "Jamesonian approach" to the study of Greek religion. This approach, recognizable in each article individually, becomes unmistakable through the concentration of papers collected here. The particulars of the Jamesonian approach are insightfully discussed in the five introductory essays written for this volume by leading world authorities on polis religion.

MICHAEL H. JAMESON received his B.A. in Greek from the University of Chicago at the age of seventeen. After serving in the U.S. Navy, he returned to the University of Chicago where he earned his Ph.D. in 1949, with his dissertation "The Offering at Meals: Its Place in Greek Sacrifice." He spent 1949–50 at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens with a Fulbright Fellowship. After three years at the University of Missouri, he accepted a Ford Fellowship at the Institute for Social Anthropology at the University of Oxford in 1953–4. In 1954 he became Professor of Classics at the University of Pennsylvania, and later director of the Graduate Group in Ancient History until 1976. In that year he was appointed Professor of Classics at Stanford University; in 1977 he became Crossett Professor of Humanistic Studies, a position he held until his death in August 2004. Throughout his long career he received numerous awards and visiting fellowships, including a Guggenheim Fellowship (1966–7). He wrote over sixty articles on the political, ecological, and social aspects of the practice of religion in the ancient Greek polis. As an epigrapher he published many inscriptions in *Inscriptiones Graecae*. As an archaeologist he began the excavation of Halieis in 1962, and was a director and organizer of the Argolid Exploration Project, an archaeological, ecological, and ethnographic survey during the period 1979–83, which resulted in numerous publications, especially *A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day* (1994), co-authored with Tjeerd Van Andel and C. N. Runnels. His teaching and example inspired a generation of scholars.

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Cults and Rites in Ancient Greece

Essays on Religion and Society

MICHAEL H. JAMESON

edited by ALLAIRE B. STALLSMITH

with an Introduction by PAUL CARTLEDGE



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Prefatory note

The collection of the essays in this book results largely from the encouragement of my friends and former students, Ed Cohen, Allaire B. Stallsmith, and Victor D. Hanson, and my friend Paul Cartledge. The Arete Foundation provided much appreciated support to bring research spanning almost fifty years into some degree of uniformity in style, and Irene Polinskaya and Hilary Connell furnished the hard labor this required. I am also most grateful to Pauline Hire and Michael Sharp, successive editors at Cambridge University Press, for their advice and support.

Michael H. Jameson

Preface

The idea of this volume was conceived as long ago as 1997, but a number of circumstances have interfered with its timely development and fruition. The delay was mostly due to three factors: Mike's deteriorating health, his many publishing commitments, most pressing of which was the Halieis Project, and the time and energy he dedicated to caring for his ailing wife Virginia. It would be unfair to Mike's memory not to mention that some traits of his personality may have additionally contributed to the delay. One of these was his singular modesty, which urged him to give a place of priority to that which was due to others (e.g., requests for professional opinion from colleagues, peer reviews, readers' duties, contributions to *Festschriften*, etc.) before that which was due to himself. Another trait was his unceasing curiosity about things new and exciting which often made him more interested in his students' research than in republication of his own papers.

A steady progress in the preparation of this volume was nevertheless being made when it was interrupted by Mike's untimely death in 2004. Since then, the delay (related to the editorial process) has been beneficial in one irrefutable sense, in that it has allowed perspective on his work both to lengthen and to sharpen – he really is, it can now clearly be seen and unequivocally stated, one of the all-time greats of our discipline. In the meantime it has also been possible to secure the services as commentators on Mike's selected papers of four leading world authorities on the multifarious, deeply complex, and sometimes irreducibly alien topic of ancient Greek (pagan, pre-Christian) religion.

A few words about the rationale for this collection need to be added. The volume assembles articles on cults and rites in ancient Greece written by Mike over a period of nearly fifty years. They represent both the scope and the signature style of Mike's engagement with the subject of ancient Greek religion. Each article in this volume has had a lasting impact on scholarship since the time of its publication. The present collection complements the original publications in two ways: firstly, it makes the articles more accessible than they have previously been, scattered as they were throughout journals and conference volumes. Secondly, in presenting the articles next to each

other under one cover, the volume offers readers a unique opportunity to observe that over four decades of scholarship Mike developed a distinctive method, a signature style, a particular perspective, a way of looking that could perhaps be fittingly called a “Jamesonian approach” to the study of Greek religion. This approach, recognizable in each article individually, becomes unmistakable through the concentration of papers collected here. The particulars of the Jamesonian approach are insightfully discussed in the introductory essays of Cartledge, Graf, Faraone, Parker, and Bremmer.

The topic of cults and rites now occupies the central place in ancient Greek studies that it rightfully deserves. When Moses Finley, however, edited a “new appraisal” of “the legacy of [ancient] Greece” a quarter of a century ago, he explicitly excluded consideration of (pagan, pre-Christian) religion, on the grounds that ancient Hellenism’s religious legacy was Christianity.¹ That may, in a sense, be true. But it may also have given the false impression that religion somehow wasn’t an important, let alone a central, part of the ancient Greece from which the Hellenic legacy to the Western world has been variously derived. Four years later, an attempt was made by Finley to correct that impression in his Foreword to a collection of essays entitled *Greek Religion and Society*, all of which were fixedly devoted to various putatively central or fundamental aspects of ancient Greek religion, such as festivals and divination and shrines.²

In that same year, 1985, a very good English translation of Walter Burkert’s 1977 *Griechische Religion* appeared, an augury of the bright and still shining future of Greek religion studies.³ Two decades further on, after the appearance of work by Bremmer, Faraone, Graf, Henrichs, Mikalson, Parker, Price, and Versnel, to name only a very select few, there is no need for and indeed no thought of offering an apology for a work such as the present collection of essays that is in the fullest sense devoted to that same topic.⁴

Mike was born in London on the Ides of October 1924 and died on August 18, 2004, just short of his eightieth birthday. A memorial service was

¹ M. I. Finley, ed., *The Legacy of Greece: A New Appraisal*, Oxford 1981.

² P. E. Easterling and J. V. Muir, eds., *Greek Religion and Society*, Cambridge 1985. Finley began his Foreword by making the point about Hellenism’s legacy being, strictly speaking, Christianity, continued with the observation that (pre-Christian) Greek religion was “fundamentally alien,” and then summarily commented on the eight essays. Contributors included – besides the editors and Finley – J. Gould, N. Richardson, N. Coldstream, P. Cartledge, S. Price, and M. Robertson. Among the highly selective list of works in English recommended to students for further reading was Mike’s “Notes on the Sacrificial Calendar from Erchia,” *BCH* 89, 1965, 154–72, for its discussion of the Diasia festival.

³ *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, trans. J. Raffan, Oxford and Cambridge, MA 1985.

⁴ Relevant works by these authors, among many others, will be found in the General Bibliography at the end of this book.

held in the Memorial Church, Stanford University, on October 20, 2004, all aspects of which were lovingly prepared by his distinguished colleague Maud Gleason. Presided over by the Senior Associate Dean for Religious Life, Rabbi Patricia Karlin-Neumann (not intentionally, but not unfittingly either, for halachically Mike was Jewish), the service included a family remembrance by one of his sons, reflections by two Stanford colleagues, remembrances by colleagues from three other universities (Illinois, Tokyo, and Berkeley), and a reading of four brief tributes. Five further tributes by colleagues (some also former students), which for lack of time could not be read out in full, were posted online.⁵ Also posted later was “A Tribute to Mike,”⁶ which reprised and augmented an earlier (2002) posting of tributes; this contains contributions from another of his sons, from colleagues, and from other collaborators and former students.

Another memorial has been quite literally planted, in the form of a memorial tree at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, thanks to the efforts of Irene Polinskaya. Dr. Polinskaya is also co-editor of a volume of scholarly studies dedicated to Mike’s memory.⁷ Finally, a Michael H. Jameson Fellowship Fund, also devoted to furthering the objectives of the ASCSA, has been established by the Arete Foundation of Mike’s former student Edward E. Cohen and his wife Betsy.

Thus fortified by this wealth of deep personal affection as well as huge collegial respect for Mike, we present this volume to readers as an epitome of Mike’s unique contribution to the field of Greek religion, submitting that we felt it our duty to see it through publication, as a form of sincere but ever inadequate tribute to a very special mentor and colleague.

In the excellent company of Martin Ostwald,⁸ we end this Preface by quoting some “winged words” delivered at an earlier funeral, those of Achilles over the corpse of his beloved Patroclus (*Iliad* 22.389–90, in Richmond Lattimore’s trusty translation):

*And though the dead forget the dead in the house of Hades,
even there I shall still remember my beloved companion.*

Paul Cartledge, Irene Polinskaya, and Allaire B. Stallsmith

⁵ www.dfki.de/~jameson/mhj/memorial-service/

⁶ www.geocities.com/btse1/mhjtribute.html/

⁷ A. Matthaiou and I. Polinskaya, eds., *Mikros hieromnemon: Meletes eis mnemen Michael H. Jameson*, Athens 2007.

⁸ www.geocities.com/btse1/mhjtribute.html/ostwald

Acknowledgments

It is now twenty years since the “paper-collecting project,” as he called it, first became the subject of my correspondence with my dissertation advisor Michael H. Jameson. During its lengthy gestation this volume grew to include some of the best examples of the “Jamesonian approach,” his signature scholarly style: rigorous, thorough and based on all the evidence.

This book would not have appeared in print without the help of colleagues who deserve my warmest thanks: Paul Cartledge gently guided the process and wrote the Introduction. Mike’s student Irene Polinskaya organized the structure of this volume; her good judgment and tact were essential to its genesis. Another student, Mark Alonge, Assistant Professor of Classics at Boston University, kindly assisted with manuscript interpretation. Anthony Jameson was very helpful in locating pictures and documents and generously arranged financial assistance from the Jameson Foundation. Michael Sharp of Cambridge University Press was unfailingly generous with editorial help. I owe thanks to the librarians at Towson University and to Rudy Dallal for technical assistance. My colleagues at Towson University supported my commitment to honor my dear teacher, mentor, and friend, Michael H. Jameson. He will be sorely missed by those of us who experienced his wit, his patience, and his intellectual generosity.

Allaire B. Stallsmith

Abbreviations

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AbhBerl	<i>Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i>
ABL	C. H. E. Haspels, <i>Athenian Black-figured Lekythoi</i> . Paris 1936
ABSA	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
ABV	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-figure Vase-painters</i> . Oxford 1956
ActaAth	<i>Acta Atheniensa</i> . Swedish School in Athens
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AncW	<i>The Ancient World</i>
Anecd. Bekk.	I. Bekker, ed., <i>Anecdota Graeca</i>
Annal. E.S.C.	<i>Annales. Economie, sociétés, civilisations</i>
AntK	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
AntK-BH	<i>Antike Kunst Beiheft</i>
AntW	<i>Antike Welt</i>
AnzÖstAkadWien	<i>Anzeiger der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien</i>
ArchCl	<i>Archeologia classica</i>
ArchDelt	Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Δελτίον. 1915–
ArchEph	Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
ARV ²	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-figure Vase-painters</i> , 2nd edn. Oxford 1963
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i> . 1898–
ASAtene	<i>Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente</i>
AthMitt	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i> . 1876–
AV	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attischen Vasenmaler</i> . Tübingen 1925
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BÉFAR	<i>Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i>
BerSächsGesWiss	<i>Berichte über die Verhandlungen der [Kgl.] sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig</i> . 1848
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>
BLund	<i>Bulletin de la Société royale des lettres de Lund</i>
BPhilWoch	<i>Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift</i> . 1881–1920

BWPr	<i>Winckelmannsprogramm der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin</i>
CAF	T. Kock, <i>Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta</i> . Leipzig 1880–8
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CGS	L. Farnell, <i>Cults of the Greek States</i> , 5 vols. Oxford 1896–1909
CIG	A. Böckh <i>et al.</i> , eds., <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . Berlin 1828–77
ClAnt	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
CPh	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CPhS Suppl.	<i>Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary Volume</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
CVA	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i> . 1925–
Dar-Sag	C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, <i>Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments</i> . Paris 1877–1919
EGF	G. Kinkel, <i>Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . Leipzig 1877
<i>Etym. Magn.</i>	<i>Etymologicum Magnum</i>
FGrH	F. Jacoby, <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . 1923–
FHG	C. Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> . Paris 1841–70
Fornara	C. W. Fornara, <i>Translated Documents of Greece and Rome I: Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War</i> , 2nd edn. Cambridge 1983
FuB	<i>Forschungen und Berichte</i>
FuF	<i>Forschungen und Fortschritte</i>
GGA	<i>Göttingischer gelehrte Anzeigen</i> . 1739–
GGR	M. P. Nilsson, <i>Geschichte der griechischen Religion: Die Religion Griechenlands bis auf die griechische Weltherrschaft</i> , 2nd edn, 2 vols. Munich 1955; 3rd edn, 2 vols. Munich 1967
GLP	D. L. Page, <i>Greek Literary Papyri</i> . London 1942
GRBM	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Monographs</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
HallWPr	<i>Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm</i>
Hastings, <i>ERE</i>	J. Hastings, ed., <i>Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics</i> , 12 vols. 1908–1921; index vol. Edinburgh 1926
HdA	<i>Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Berlin 1931–
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HThR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	<i>Harvard Theological Studies</i>
IC	M. Guarducci, <i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i>
IDélos	F. Dürrbach, ed., <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> . Paris 1923–37
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . 1873–

<i>IstMitt</i>	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>
<i>IvO</i>	W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, eds., <i>Inscriptionen von Olympia</i> , 1896
<i>JDAI</i> (= <i>JdI</i>)	<i>Jahrbuch des [kaiserlich] deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i> . 1886–
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JÖAI</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien</i> . 1898–
<i>L'AntCl</i>	<i>L'Antiquité classique</i>
<i>LegSac</i>	J. von Protz and L. Ziehen, eds., <i>Leges graecorum sacrae e titulis collectae</i> . Leipzig 1896–1906
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
<i>LSAM</i>	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure</i> . Paris 1955
<i>LSCG</i>	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> . Paris 1969
<i>LSS</i>	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément</i> . Paris 1962
<i>MAL</i>	<i>Memorie della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei</i>
<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> . 1928–
<i>Meded</i>	<i>Mededelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome</i>
<i>MÉFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité</i>
<i>ML</i>	R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, eds., <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC</i> , Oxford 1969, rev. edn. Oxford 1988
<i>M-W</i>	R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, eds., <i>Fragmenta Hesiodica</i> . Oxford 1967
<i>MusHelv</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
<i>NotScav</i>	<i>Notizie degli scavi di antichità</i> . 1876–
<i>NouvClio</i>	<i>La Nouvelle Clio</i>
<i>OCD</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 3rd edn
<i>OCT</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Texts</i>
<i>PACA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the African Classical Associations</i>
<i>PCG</i>	R. Kassel and C. Austin, eds., <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> . Berlin vol. 1 1983, vol. 2 1999
<i>PCPhS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
<i>PGM</i>	K. Preisendanz et al., eds., <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri</i>
<i>PLG</i>	T. Bergk, <i>Poetae Lyrici Graeci</i> . Leipzig 1882
<i>PMG</i>	D. L. Page, <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> . Oxford 1962
<i>PP</i>	<i>La parola del passato</i> . 1946–
<i>RE</i>	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Stuttgart 1893–

<i>RÉA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
<i>RÉG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>RevHistRel</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i> . 1827–; Neue Folge, 1842
<i>RivIstArch</i>	<i>Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte</i>
<i>RivStClas</i>	<i>Rivista di studi classici</i>
<i>RömMitt</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i> . 1886–
Roscher, <i>Lex.</i>	W. H. Roscher, <i>Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i> . Leipzig 1884–1937 (repr. Hildesheim 1992)
<i>RPh</i>	<i>Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> . 1923–
<i>SitzBay</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München</i>
<i>SitzBer</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i>
<i>SitzHeid</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Heidelberg</i>
<i>SitzWien</i>	<i>Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, Sitzungsberichte, Philosophisch–historische Klasse</i>
<i>SMSR</i>	<i>Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni</i>
<i>Syll.</i> ³	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd edn. Leipzig 1915–24
<i>SymbOsl</i>	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>
<i>TGF</i> ²	A. Nauck, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , 2nd edn. Leipzig 1889
Tod	M. N. Tod, <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> . Oxford vol. 1 ² 1946, vol. 2 1948
<i>Trag.Adesp.</i>	<i>Tragica Adespota</i> in Nauck, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , 837–958
<i>UppsÅrsskr</i>	<i>Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift</i>
<i>YCS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
<i>ZfN</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>



General Introduction

Michael H. Jameson – Classical Catalyst

PAUL CARTLEDGE

Each of the four parts into which this austere selection of Mike Jameson's essays has been – with difficulty – divided is introduced below by a dedicated essay from a leading international scholar. The purpose of this general introduction must therefore be different: at once broader and narrower. On the one hand, I shall attempt a brief conspectus of the entire – vast – range of Mike's published scholarship.¹ On the other, I shall say far less about his Greek religion studies than would otherwise have been called for.

If I may begin on a personal note: I first encountered Mike Jameson in 1967. Not in the flesh, but on the page, when I was a second-year undergraduate student at New College, Oxford, studying earlier Greek history with – or rather under – the formidable Geoffrey de Ste. Croix. Mike was then Professor of Classical Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, and also Dean in Penn's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. I encountered him at last in person almost two decades later, in 1984.² Mike was then a Visiting Fellow both at Darwin College, Cambridge (of which Moses Finley was then Master), and at Jesus College, where Finley had been a Fellow. He was on sabbatical leave from Stanford, where he was Professor not

This essay is based, now somewhat distantly, on an address I gave at the Mark Hotel in Manhattan, on May 13, 1995, as a curtain-raiser to a symposium (held at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) organized by Dr. Ed Cohen in honor of Mike's 70th birthday. The apt title of my address was suggested by Ed, and I happily reuse it here. The speakers at that symposium, all like Ed former pupils of Mike's, were Lin Foxhall, Victor Hanson, Cynthia Patterson, and Vance Watrous. Little did I know that this would be my first direct academic connection with NYU, where I lately held (in association with the Department of Classics) the inaugural Hellenic Parliament Global Distinguished Professorship in the Theory and History of Democracy.

¹ See the Complete Bibliography of his published writings below, pp. xxxii–xxxvi. A handsome, densely documented and entirely fitting biographical memoir by his old (and now also sadly late) friend Martin Ostwald, which pays due attention both to the full range of his publications and to his many awards and honors, may profitably be read in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 151, 2007, 113–23, www.jstor.org/stable/i412603.

² When stuck for a title for the Festschrift that I was co-editing with David Harvey for Ste. Croix's 75th birthday, it was Mike who happily suggested either CRUX or CRUCES. The former got the nod: hence *CRUX: Essays in Greek History Presented to G.E.M. de Ste. Croix on his 75th Birthday* (published first as *History of Political Thought*, vol. 6, 1985, then as an independent hardback volume by Colin Haycraft of Duckworth, London).

merely of Classics but also of Humanistic Studies and (by courtesy, his vita punctiliously recorded) of History – as he remained until his formal retirement in 1990.

For more than half a century Mike was a “Classical catalyst” in a whole raft of positive, innovative, and liberating ways. He facilitated, promoted, or accelerated both individual and collective programs of broadly historical research into, and better understanding of, the ancient Greeks and their culture. In terms of personnel and thematic scope, he concerned himself with the entire ancient Greek “demographic,” from the humblest unfree agricultural worker at the bottom of the social heap or (literally) in the pits of the world down a lethal mineshaft, right up to the very apex of high culture on, for example, the Athenian Acropolis. His concern with the foundations as well as the pinnacles of ancient Greek culture was utterly typical of the man as well as the scholar. He deployed, moreover, the very different and very exacting skills of epigraphy, archaeology, and what could be called retrospective ethnography with no less accomplished ease and authority than he practiced the more traditional and standard kinds of written, narrative source-based history and historiography.

Above all, Mike’s “field” of ancient Greek history was as much a literal geographical space as it was a metaphorical intellectual construct. In the Southern Argolid, especially, but not only there, he achieved what very few historians of the ancient world can legitimately claim even to have attempted – that is, made unambiguously positive contributions to new knowledge and fresh understanding by the discovery or rediscovery and scholarly publication of primary sources. The so-called “Themistocles Decree” from Troizen is doubtless the most famous of these, but, to compare small with great, an issue of the *SEG* in the mid-1990s carried an entry for a text from Epidauros Limera in eastern Laconia that had been first published by Mike in 1953. Under the heading of “primary sources” fall, too, those mute and often humble artifacts that are the bread and butter of the intensive field-surveyor – picked up, or not picked up, but in either case properly recorded in a scientific sort of way. Again, the Southern Argolid project can stand for many.

This extraordinary achievement has undoubtedly required an exceptional, almost Herculean level of physical as well as intellectual fitness. It poses, also, a major problem of selection for anyone trying to give anything like a representative account of such a prodigiously varied and fertile *oeuvre*. Reluctantly, I have made just four choices, or choices under four headings: two techniques (epigraphy and intensive field-survey

archaeology), and two subjects or themes (religion and agriculture). All four may, and often did, coincide or overlap, as for example in Mike's contribution to the VIIIth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (held at Athens in 1982).³ The distinction between them is therefore significantly artificial.

Epigraphy

It is, I am assured, just a rumor that Mike mastered epigraphic technique so as to be able to decipher his own handwriting. What his mastery certainly enabled him to do, from as early as his first publications at the start of the 1950s (when he was in his early twenties and at the University of Missouri), was both to publish *editiones principes* of hitherto neglected or unknown texts and to shed new light on already published documents by applying to them a formidable battery of learning and expertise.

For purposes of illustration, I cite again just the so-called "Themistocles Decree" from Troizen, which Mike published first in *Hesperia* for 1960 and then again with revisions two years later, also in *Hesperia*. If this new text did indeed, as he put it, shed "the clearest new light on the Persian Wars" (and much else besides), that was due not only – as Mike modestly claimed – to its intrinsic informational content, but also and above all to his own Renaissance-Man combination of an encyclopedic knowledge of the relevant ancient and modern literature, a truly Herodotean spirit of *historia*, an almost Teutonic aptitude for *Quellenforschung* and *Quellenkritik*, and – not least – an Anglo-American philological and epigraphic finesse. It was, moreover, utterly typical of Mike that he did not seek to hide this new light under the bushel of a specialist academic journal. Perhaps dimly recalling his schooldays in London (at the same school as was later attended by Oxford master-epigraphist David Lewis), he promptly published in 1961 a more popular version of his findings, suitable for undergraduate tyros like me, in the British journal *Greece & Rome*; and he did so under the brilliantly apt, Cavafy-esque title, "Waiting for the Barbarian."⁴

³ M. H. Jameson, "Agriculture and Greek Inscriptions: Rhamnous and Amorgos," *Acta of the VIIIth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, vol. 2, Athens 1987, 290–2.

⁴ M. H. Jameson, "A Decree of Themistokles from Troizen," *Hesperia* 29, 1960, 198–223, "A Revised Text of the Decree of Themistokles from Troizen," *Hesperia* 31, 1962, 310–15, and "Waiting for the Barbarian: New Light on the Persian Wars," *Greece & Rome* (2nd ser.) 8, 1961, 5–18.

Religion

I shall be very sparing of reference to his religion studies, to avoid otiose duplication of the excellent commentaries below. But I should like to begin with a selection of quotations from those four expert commentators, to convey some idea of the extreme originality and fertility of Mike's thought, experimental practice and many publications in this cardinal sphere of his scholarship in particular.

GRAF: "Michael Jameson the historian of religion was first and foremost Michael Jameson the epigrapher." "Michael Jameson, in his quiet way, was at the forefront of his generation's methodological stance on Greek religion" – right up there, that is, with J.-P. Vernant (1915–2007) and Walter Burkert (1931–). "*His essays remain models* – for epigraphers in how to think about Greek religion, and for historians of Greek religion in how to use the documents of epigraphy" (my emphasis).

FARAONE: "Michael Jameson was . . . a generalist who mastered a number of different and difficult methodologies and was interested in every aspect of Greek antiquity." "[A]nother important and practical habit of Jameson's research . . . led him to a long-standing relationship with a butcher in San Jose, who . . . supplied him with various animal innards and bones for his 'sacrificial research' on a small grill in his yard in Palo Alto."

PARKER: "[O]ne should not suppose . . . that Michael Jameson was ever capable of discussing religion in isolation from society." "Despite its surface limpidity, his writing is stuffed with thought," Jameson being a "thinker who followed his own paths."

BREMMER: "Jameson's continual freshness of thinking." "Jameson was very much an epigraphist." "Jameson's most important contributions to Greek religion, undoubtedly, are in the field of sacrifice and the nature of Greek religion." "Once again it is the context that counts for Jameson, not the grand theories." "[T]he openness regarding the problem of change and/or continuity of Greek religion we just noted is also characteristic of Jameson's work as a whole and *should serve as a model for all students of Greek religion*" (my emphasis).

Throughout Mike's career there ran like a thin red streak a manifest pre-occupation with the highways and byways of ancient, mostly pre-Christian Greek religion; and, latterly, with space, both domestic and urban. The "Themistocles Decree" inscription was originally set up, like so many ancient Greek public documents of seemingly secular content and import, within an urban religious space. His personal biography – being the product of a mixed marriage, and of an early upbringing among oriental pagans – perhaps accounts in considerable part for this concentration of interest.

It certainly helps to explain the conceptual and methodological approach he always consistently applied to the study of ancient Greek religion: a form of retrospective comparative ethnography. We recall that anthropology was one of his minor subjects in the AB he won at the tender age of 17 in Robert Redfield's University of Chicago, and that his doctoral thesis of 1949, also Chicagoan, was entitled "The Offering at Meals: Its Place in Greek Sacrifice." Nor was it irrelevant that in 1953–4 he studied at E. E. Evans-Pritchard's Institute of Social Anthropology at Oxford, publishing in 1954 a brief report on the contemporary inheritance system of the Dodecanesian island of Carpathos "in its sociological and historical context" (of course).

How far biography explained his interest in Dionysus is harder to say, though in his essay on that god's paradoxical "asexuality" reprinted below,⁵ he does point out that Dionysus together with Aphrodite represent "two of the great joys in life." This article, unusually I think, so far as his printed words were concerned, is marvelously (laugh-out-loud) funny as well as – *comme d'habitude* – wondrously erudite. Here we find the normally sobersided Michael Hamilton Jameson (good Scotch names those last two) explicitly "putting the phallus in its place," and uttering, deadpan, remarks of mindbogglingly earthshattering import, such as, "A cigar may sometimes be only a cigar, as Freud warned, but a phallus, I submit, is always a phallus." His further, entirely serious suggestion that the Athenian vase painters' iconography of a tree trunk draped in Dionysus' feminine dress and surmounted by a mask might be meant for a phallic representation of the god was perceptively hailed by one reviewer of the book in which the article originally appeared as "the book's most provocative statement."

Agriculture and slavery

To come back down to earth, I deal penultimately with Mike's own brand of "History from Below." His overriding concern with the normal, the characteristic, the everyday, even the humdrum often led him to seek answers to historical problems in – and from – the soil. His very first published article (1951) was devoted to the hero Echetaeus, who took his name from a key element of the traditional Mediterranean scratch-plow, its handle.⁶ With

⁵ M. H. Jameson, "The Asexuality of Dionysus," in T. Carpenter and C. Faraone, eds., *Masks of Dionysus*, New York 1993, 44–64 ([chapter 4](#), this volume, pp. 62–80).

⁶ M. H. Jameson, "The Hero Echetaeus," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Association* 82, 1951, 49–61 ([chapter 1](#), this volume, pp. 9–21).

this inaugural publication Mike, so to say, staked out his scholarly terrain. Given the enormous amount he wrote on ancient Greek agriculture, from so many points of view, it is invidious as well as probably biased to pick out, as I have, just two of the major contributions he made to understanding it “from the point of view of labour” (in W. E. Heitland’s phrase),⁷ or, as he himself did not shrink from putting it, from the point of view of class. Separated by twenty-five years, “Agriculture and Slavery in Classical Athens” and “On Paul Cartledge, ‘The political economy of Greek slavery’” offer arguably still the best introduction to one of the key questions in all ancient Greek history.⁸ They are both models of proper method when dealing with the most recalcitrant of sources for ancient social and economic history, and also elegant and (to me, largely) persuasive expositions of a vital hypothesis: that the use of slave labor in intensive peasant agriculture could have been critical to the effective functioning of the world’s first direct, participatory democracy, the self-government of the (mainly poor) People by the People for the People. “Agriculture and Slavery in Classical Athens,” in other words, represents at the same time “Democracy 2500,” a foundation stone of our western heritage (to which I return at the close).

Intensive field survey

Mike’s concern with, and for, the little people “without history” (E. R. Wolf’s telling phrase) was also rampantly evident in this final field of his endeavors. Since the 1970s, along with Anthony Snodgrass of Cambridge, Mike was one of the two foremost proponents within Classical Greek archaeology of intensive, collaborative field survey, or “archaeology without digging” as I’ve seen it labeled. He was of course also involved in more conventional styles of archaeology, for example excavations at the Franchthi Cave and at Eel Harbor (Porto Cheli, ancient Halieis), both in the Argolid. But even here he pushed the boat out, technologically speaking. I can’t resist quoting from one of his Halieis reports: “The camera was balanced for true vertical alignment by a very sensitive specially designed gimbal. Shutter release was by short wave radio transmitter on the ground to a radio receiver at the

⁷ W. E. Heitland, *Agricola: A Study of Agriculture and Rustic Life in the Greco-Roman World from the Point of View of Labour*, Cambridge 1921.

⁸ M. H. Jameson, “Agriculture and Slavery in Classical Athens,” *CJ* 73, 1977–8, 122–45, and “On Paul Cartledge, ‘The Political Economy of Greek Slavery,’” in P. Cartledge, E. E. Cohen, and L. Foxhall, eds., *Money, Labour and Land: Approaches to the Economies of Ancient Greece*, London 2002, 167–74.

camera. Control of position and orientation of camera, whether suspended from balloon or airfoil, is effected by one or two lines supplementing a tether line.” Almost a DIY manual of aerial photography there . . . and, he continues, “the 1968 season brought further advances.” Moreover, “Refinements . . . are scheduled for future seasons,” which turned out to include a flotation tank equipped with a propeller to circulate fresh water, and a new type of waterproof paper.⁹

However, it is Mike’s advocacy of field survey in general, and his exemplary practice of same in the Southern Argolid in particular, that specially merit our pausing. A tome of 654 (big) pages rather deceptively entitled *A Greek Countryside* (1994, 1995) still constitutes the gold standard for publication of this kind of inevitably collaborative project.¹⁰ Yet even the expansive subtitle, *The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day*, doesn’t fully prepare the reader for the extent and nature of the required collaboration. Two names besides Mike’s appear in the co-author credits (the oceanographer Tjeerd van Andel and the prehistoric archaeologist Curtis Runnels), and the ancient historian Mark Munn together with Runnels are listed on the title page as responsible for the (huge) Register of Sites. But the inspiration, going back some forty years (to 1950, in the dark aftermath of the Greek Civil War), was always Mike’s, and, as van Andel and Runnels themselves stated in their own book of 1987,¹¹ “Without Mike Jameson, co-director of the project, it would never even have begun; his insight has been evident and pervasive throughout the study, as it will continue to be in all of its publications” – of which no fewer than five in all were originally envisaged.

Briefly, *A Greek Countryside* sets out the results of over forty years of both extensive and (especially) intensive field-survey and post-survey study of an area of the Argolid region in the northeast Peloponnese. The study area comprised some 200 sq. km. in all, and was found to contain well over 300 sites, under human occupation in some shape or form for about 50,000 years all told. No one except Mike, probably, has read or will read, or could or should be expected to, every one of the almost 1,000 items listed in the Bibliography. There, cheek-by-jowl, you will find a work on the structure of Homeric catalogues and another on “systematics and the precise measurement of time over the past 500,000 years.” It would be a shame, though, indeed shameful, if historians of Classical Greece were to be

⁹ M. H. Jameson, “Excavations at Porto Cheli and Vicinity, A Preliminary Report, I: Halieis, 1962–68,” *Hesperia* 38, 1969, 311–42.

¹⁰ M. H. Jameson, *A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day*, with Tj. van Andel and C. N. Runnels, Palo Alto, CA 1994.

¹¹ Tj. van Andel and C. N. Runnels, *Beyond the Acropolis: A Rural Greek Past*, Palo Alto, CA 1987.

discouraged and disconcerted by “a history largely without names and even without historical events,” or were to content themselves with reading only the two “History” chapters, together perhaps with the technical epigraphical and historical appendixes. For then they would be passing up the multifarious – and no doubt multivariate – delights of topography, sedimentology, petrology, oceanography, palaeobotany, ethnography, and other ancillary scientific disciplines now routinely considered part and parcel of any such enterprise, that are served up, too, as appetizingly as they can possibly be.

All the science in the world, however, was not enough for Mike. Among his most cherished informational resources was that lowest of low-tech phenomena, human beings. In seeking out local inhabitants, participant observers, to act as his privileged informants, he demonstrated what was by no means the least important or admirable feature of his methodological approach: namely his constant willingness, indeed eagerness, to make the most extensive use of Greek local knowledge, and, wherever possible, to see things (as distinguished anthropologist Clifford Geertz had it) “from the native’s point of view.”

The last words should be Mike’s, so I end with three quotations. First, a paraphrase of his tribute to one of his own chief mentors and most distinguished fellow-laborers in the vineyard of Greek topographical studies, Eugene Vanderpool, doyen of Attica studies. Like Vanderpool, Mike too “has shared his knowledge and love of the [Argolic] countryside with all who have wished to learn,” and “his tenure of the [Argive] land is *eis ton hapanta khronon*.”¹²

Second, a long and explicitly autobiographical quotation from Mike’s published response to, and in, *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*, a collective volume edited by Ian Morris and published in 1994 in the Cambridge University Press’s *New Directions in Archaeology* series:

[W]hy had I, at one time bilingual and with an abiding interest in non-Western cultures, on the road as I thought to a career in archaeology, become captured by Greece – its language, literature and history, in that order, not its archaeology until later? The sheer power of Archaic and Classical literature and art and the intellectual inventiveness of cultural life can be challenged by other remarkable periods . . . What is more difficult to match (and this is where my fascination becomes more personal) is the small scale and variety of the societies of Greece, the possibility of following the interplay of force and principle, of the public and the personal,

¹² M. H. Jameson, “The Leasing of Land in Rhamnous,” in *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography presented to Eugene Vanderpool*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 19, 1982, 66.

social ideology and economic reality, in these ‘cities of reason’ . . . Finally, and most personally, on coming to the land of Greece after studying with Robert Braidwood and Robert Redfield as well as in classical philology, there was the realisation that the economic, ecological and, to some extent, social underpinnings of the culture could be uncovered through archaeology . . . That this was likely to provide contradictions and problems when compared with the literary record (problems compounded by the study of inscriptions . . .) only encouraged a young man’s sceptical and left-leaning bent.

Mike aged, but his scepticism and political inclination seem not to have altered much over the years. For, as he went on,

Today . . . I suggest that the continuing attraction and justification for Greek studies, including Greek archaeology, is that it offers us much of the Western tradition, both establishmentarian and anti-establishmentarian, Christian or anti-Christian or neutral, as we wish, while at the same time providing us with the opportunity through archaeology and anthropology . . . of questioning and undermining, of appreciating Greece’s deep differences from our contemporary world for all its apparent familiarity.¹³

Older Mike became, but no less worldly-wise.

My third, and final, concluding quotation both is and is not from Mike. Aptly, as we “look to the end,” it is taken from Sophocles’ tragic drama, *The Women of Trachis*, but in Mike’s exquisite 1957 verse translation in the Grene and Lattimore Chicago series. Towards the beginning of the play its heroine – or anti-heroine rather, perhaps – Deianeira (‘Man-destroyer’) muses that, as Heracles “wins through to the end of all his labors, . . . I find that I am more than ever afraid” (ll.36–7).¹⁴ Mike has now put his academic and other labors on this earth behind him, and has won through to his appointed end in an atmosphere not of ominous foreboding but of triumph and hope. We therefore have no need to echo Deianeira’s fears: on the contrary – to quote the very last lines of the play and to apply them to Mike Jameson’s own unique and lastingly catalytic contribution to Classical studies as a whole –

there is
nothing here which is not Zeus.
(ll. 1277–8)

¹³ M. H. Jameson, “Response,” in I. Morris, ed., *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*, Cambridge 1994, 93–6.

¹⁴ M. H. Jameson, tr. *The Women of Trachis* by Sophocles, in the *Complete Greek Tragedies*, D. Grene and R. Lattimore, eds., Chicago 1957, 78.

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PART I



Gods and Heroes



Introduction

FRITZ GRAF

Research on Greek gods and, to a lesser degree, on Greek heroes is caught in the essential tension that exists between the panhellenic status and the almost exclusively local worship of most gods and many heroes. This tension is as old as Greek reflection on the recipients of their cult. Hesiod and Homer already assumed that the gods they were singing about were known by and common to all Greeks, although their festivals, rituals, and even myths were first and foremost a local affair, performed in and for a city or even a village. But although local cults differed considerably, panhellenic narrations converged in shaping an overall image that transcended such local concerns; famously, Herodotus acknowledges this when he has Hesiod and Homer give the Greeks their gods. The same is true for many heroes. Being ancestors of local families, they are naturally worshipped at their graves; but their stories and, in a number of instances that grew over time, their cults spread through Greece and became panhellenic: here too, Herodotus' assumption of a basic unity of Greek religion appears correct.

For generations, scholars on Greek religion have adopted this same premise, without even recognizing or theorizing the tension between local and panhellenic: research into local cults was antiquarian only, or, once it had theoretical aims, it hunted for survivals, following Tylor's and Frazer's evolutionism that was readily adopted by the next generation of scholars such as Martin P. Nilsson or Ludwig Deubner. Only recently, after Frazer's and Nilsson's overbearing paradigm lost its grip on the minds of scholars, has the unity of Greek religion become a problem; but a book with the title *Religions of the Ancient Greeks* smacks somewhat of provocation even fifteen years after its publication, and the much regretted Simon Price must have intended it to be so.¹ As early as 1978, the much regretted Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood stipulated in a seminal paper that "the study of Greek divine personalities should be based on specific religious units and rely on internal evidence only,"² without however neglecting the interplay between

¹ S. Price, *Religions of the Ancient Greeks*, Cambridge 1999.

² C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "Persephone and Aphrodite at Locri: A Model for Personality Definition in Greek Religion," *JHS* 98, 1978, 102 (reprinted as "Reading" *Greek Culture: Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths*, Oxford 1991, 150).

the local and the panhellenic. She took her cues from Jean-Pierre Vernant, who had posited that the Greek pantheon needed to be studied as a system, not as a list; although he did not confine research into this system to any local pantheon, but to its panhellenic manifestations, the primary system of Greek religion is the local pantheon. As a necessary corollary to her methodological stipulation, Sourvinou-Inwood focussed not on the myths but on the cults: if anything, the local cults gave the matrix in which to read the polysemy of panhellenic mythical narratives.³ To use the case study she presented: the cult of Persephone in Locri Epizephyrîi is concerned with the transition from girlhood to bride, and in this context the rape of Persephone is read as a wedding story.⁴

Michael Jameson was a contemporary of Jean-Pierre Vernant, and a generation senior to Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood. To him, too, it came very easily to think of Greek religion in the framework of local religion. Michael Jameson the historian of religion was first and foremost also Michael Jameson the epigrapher – and inscriptions, like cults, are local only, tied to one place and one specific historical moment. It is not by chance that two of the four papers in the first part of this collection take their starting point from an inscription. The paper on Apollo Lykeios publishes and comments on an Athenian decree that Jameson was editing for the third edition of *Inscriptiones Graecae* I, the pre-Cleisthenic inscriptions of Athens; the one on Perseus begins with two late archaic inscriptions from Mycenae, one of them unpublished, the other one widely unknown, and turns the tension between local and panhellenic into a central topic: “The myth [of Perseus] was so widespread and had such a long history in art that it may be difficult to uncover its local form in the one place with a strong, early claim to the hero.” The other two papers think mostly locally as well: the Dionysus paper takes a large amount of its evidence from Athenian vase-painting, another very local medium (despite its huge international commercial success), and the paper on Echetlaeus comments on a detail of a painting in Athens’ Stoa Poikile with an eminently local theme, the victory at Marathon.

The focus on local evidence leads almost with necessity to a second typical move. In each case, the reflection on the god or hero who is central to the paper – Perseus, Echetlaeus, Dionysus, Apollo – quickly turns to the rituals connected with him; it is, after all, the rituals that explain local beliefs and

³ Her reason, however, was somewhat different: “Of the spheres in which a divine personality manifests itself, that of cult would be especially resistant to change under the impact of Panhellenic religion,” Sourvinou-Inwood 1978, 101.

⁴ For a more complex analysis, see now J. M. Redfield, *The Locrian Maidens: Love and Death in Greek Italy*, Princeton, NJ 2003.

local storytelling, and that also contribute to the panhellenic image of a given god or hero. Implicitly, this contains a theory of how gods and heroes are shaped; they receive their basic forms from the forces of local traditions that are based on rituals. This does not exclude other forces, such as those of ancient Near Eastern storytelling that so obviously shaped the traditions about Perseus, or of Athenian tragedy, as in the case of Dionysus, but it makes those forces chronologically secondary, shaping an already existing core that is determined by its functions in local festivals and rites. There is no need to assume (and no indication of it anywhere in Jameson's papers) that such a panhellenic elaboration was intentional in the sense that the archaic poets wanted to create a panhellenic unity; it rather followed from the fact that the audiences of the poets were translocal and, often enough, panhellenic.⁵

But this firm concentration on local cults is not simply a by-product of the necessities of being an epigrapher. In his more general reflections on Greek religion (which Michael Jameson was more willing to share in conversation than in print), the focus on the local was an explicit methodological position. It was Michael who, over drinks in San Francisco, turned my attention to what he thought was an exemplary realization of his methodological stance, Robert I. Levy's *Mesocosm: Hinduism and the Organization of a Traditional Newar City in Nepal*.⁶ The book takes its title from the assumption that the city mediates between the microcosm of the individual and the cosmos, and it does for a contemporary Nepali city what we can only dream of doing for an ancient Greek city: to give "a systematic overview of the symbolic organization of one city," the traditional Hindu city of Bhaktapur.⁷ Even though we lack the detailed information Levy had, writing about a contemporary city, with his co-author Kedar Rāj Rājopādhāya, the chief Brahman priest of a temple that is "still at the center of the city's civic religion,"⁸ and a member of a priestly family that reaches back many generations,⁹ the methodological aim can be transferred with the necessary adjustment, and it has deeply resonated with Jameson's way of looking at his Greek material.

⁵ See E. Stehle, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece: Nondramatic Poetry in Its Setting*, Princeton, NJ 1997; B. Kowalzig, *Singing for the Gods: Performances of Myth and Ritual in Archaic and Classical Greece*, New York and Oxford 2007.

⁶ R. I. Levy, *Mesocosm: Hinduism and the Organization of a Traditional Newar City in Nepal*, Berkeley 1990. See Jameson, "Sacred Space and the City: Greece and Bhaktapur," *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 1, 1997, 485–99 (chapter 13 this volume, pp. 302–15).

⁷ The quotation is from D. Holmberg, "Review of *Mesocosm*," *American Ethnologist* 20, 1993, 651.

⁸ Levy 1990, 7.

⁹ It is as if we could write a book on Athenian religion together with Timotheus the Eumolpid, or with an *exegetes*: the closest we come, in this case, are the fragments of Philochorus.

In the selection and interpretation of rituals, Jameson is firmly anchored in the advances his generation had made over the Frazer–Nilsson paradigm: social function is dominant. Jane Ellen Harrison, inspired by Émile Durkheim in Paris, had paved the way for such a reading of Greek ritual, against the evolutionary pan-agriculturalism of her Cambridge friends, and her own earlier work. Henri Jeanmaire and Louis Gernet followed Durkheim, marginal scholars in a Frazerian world; a generation later, Jean-Pierre Vernant (1914–2007) and Walter Burkert (b. 1931) turned functionalism and attention to social roles into the reigning paradigm. Jameson cites all of them, whenever appropriate.¹⁰ He firmly embeds Perseus, the local hero of Mycenae, in boys’ rites of transition, and shows how the Athenian Apollo Lykeios is connected with the result of this same transition, men’s role as hoplite citizens; in this perspective, all the functions of his Athenian sanctuary, disparate and somewhat random for earlier scholars, find an easy and convincing unity. Nowadays, the concept of ‘initiation’ has come under critical scrutiny, as have most other concepts developed by nineteenth- or twentieth-century social anthropology: tribal ritual patterns look different in specific local rituals and myths of archaic and classical Greece; loose terminology is seen as doing more harm than good, and the implicit evolutionary concept has become murky as to its historical realization.¹¹ Jameson’s use of the concept of initiation, however, is careful and sparing, and he takes full account of local developments and functions: ‘initiation’ is essentially a descriptive tool. This does not mean that, in the background, there is no thought about evolution, but Jameson is not much interested in it: his interest is local, and functional.¹² He notes that, “among the West Greek speakers too, the relationship of Lykeios to other, initiatory aspects of Apollo is far

¹⁰ The third founding father of the new paradigm, Angelo Brelich, who paved the way for Vernant’s and Burkert’s influence in Italy, is present in the footnotes: Jameson is too careful a scholar not to know his work. A good introduction to Brelich’s work is the collection of some of his papers: P. Xella, ed., *Mitologia, Politeismo, Magia e Altri Studi di Storia delle Religioni* (1956–1977), Naples 2002; it deserves an English translation.

¹¹ The necessary reflection started with Angelo Brelich’s monumental (and unfinished) *Paides e Parthenoi*, Rome 1969; more recently, Walter Burkert’s “‘Iniziazione’: un concetto moderno e una terminologia antica,” in B. Gentili and F. Perusino, eds., *Le Orse di Brauron: Un Rituale di Iniziazione Femminile nel Santuario di Artemide*, Pisa 2002, 13–27, and my “Initiation: A Concept with a Troubled History,” in D. B. Dodd and C. A. Faraone, eds., *Initiation in Greek Rituals and Narratives: New Critical Perspectives*, London 2003, 3–24.

¹² A somewhat more explicit reconstruction of an evolution concerns the way Echetaeus developed from the plow-handle to a fully fledged plow hero: the starting point is again a ritual, the prayer for success while grasping the plow-handle. The background is, ultimately, Usener’s *Augenblicksgötter und Sondergötter in Götternamen: Versuch einer Lehre von der religiösen Begriffsbildung*, Bonn 1929, 2nd edn, filtered through Lewis R. Farnell’s application of the concept to hero-cults in *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, Oxford 1921, 71–94, 88.

from clear,” but leaves it at this,¹³ nor does he follow up his insights for the explanation of the well-documented evidence for the cult in Argos.¹⁴

This does not mean, however, that Jameson cannot see other functions, when necessary. He begins his interpretation of the hero Echetlaeus with a linguistic analysis of his name and concludes that the name and the hero must be connected with the plow. But he refuses any easy generalization of this insight, on the lines of Farnell’s “heroes of the field and crops”; the hero is connected not with the plow or plowing as such, but with the plow-handle, the key feature for regulating the depth of the plowing that is vital for the success of the crops. Through a host of comparative material, this leads to the very specific role of the handle in ritual that elegantly solves the quandary of why a hero connected with plowing would appear as a helper in battle, and refutes Farnell’s dismissive explanation as a “pseudo-historic aetiological story invented to explain a name and a half-forgotten cult.”¹⁵

At first glance, unlike the other three, the fourth paper, “The Asexuality of Dionysus,” might seem to concern itself not with cult, but with mythology and iconography. Its starting point is the paradox that the god who is most closely associated with the phallus, the “instrument and symbol of male sexuality,” is usually represented as “detached and unconcerned with sex.”¹⁶ But from representation – in Athenian ceramic iconography and in panhellenic Athenian mythology – the discussion quickly moves to cult and its complexities. In maenadism, the predominantly female cult of Dionysus, the phallus was absent, although sexuality was not, as the images of interaction between satyrs and maenads or Pentheus’ male fantasies demonstrate; in the cults that mostly or exclusively concerned males, however, such as the Athenian Greater and Rural Dionysia, the phallus was visibly central.

Jameson’s solution of the paradox is that Greek women were much less comfortable with the raw male sexuality displayed in the *phallegoria* and other male rites, and that this in turn shaped the representations in myth and iconography. The answer thus again makes cult into its key, in step with his basic methodological choice. It might sound persuasive, but there is one problem: representation in Greek culture is always male, even if it

¹³ Jameson, “Apollo Lykeios in Athens,” *Archaiognosia* 1, 1980, 233 (chapter 3 this volume, pp. 41–61).

¹⁴ In my chapter on the god in Erythrae (*Nordionische Kulte*, Rome 1985, 220–6), I am indebted to Jameson’s brilliant paper that tempted me to explore the details of the non-Athenian cults in order to give a background for the scant Erythraean evidence; the picture I came up with is less heterogeneous than Jameson leads one to expect.

¹⁵ Farnell 1921, 88.

¹⁶ Jameson, “The Asexuality of Dionysus,” in T. Carpenter and C. Faraone, eds., *Masks of Dionysus*, New York 1993, 44 (chapter 4 this volume, pp. 62–80).

talks about female perceptions, and thus cannot be taken at its face value. Nor is raw male sexuality absent from female cults, as the Thesmophoria and Haloa with their aeschrology and their use of images of male genitalia show.¹⁷ Jameson deserves all the credit for pointing out the paradox and going a long way towards solving it; for once, however, he might not have arrived at the very end of the road.

Even if I cannot follow him here all the way, this does not detract from the fact that Michael Jameson, in his quiet way, was at the forefront of his generation's methodological stance on Greek religion. With Vernant and Burkert, Michael Jameson shared the belief that the city was the focus, as a place of religious experience that preceded and informed all secondary panhellenic generalizations; and he shared their belief in the key role which ritual played in this experience, preceding and shaping all other forms of representation of the supernatural, of gods and heroes, in myth and iconography. And he was able to combine this with his impressive expertise as an epigrapher into a combination few scholars since have been able to equal or surpass. Thus, his essays remain models – for epigraphers in how to think about Greek religion, and for historians of Greek religion in how to use the documents of epigraphy.

¹⁷ Attested by the famous Lucian scholion (H. Rabe, *Scholia in Lucianum: Dialogi Meretricii*, Leipzig 1906, 279), L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, 61; see also the red-figured Athenian *pelike* with the image of a woman in a phallus garden, discussed *inter alia* by R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, Oxford 2005, 288.

1 | The Hero Echetlaeus

Pausanias, in speaking of the Stoa Poikile in the Agora at Athens, describes the famous painting of the battle of Marathon, which is dated in the second quarter of the fifth century BC.¹ He says, in part (1.15.3):

Here also are depicted Marathon, a hero after whom the plain is named, and Theseus, shown rising from out of the ground, and Athena and Heracles; for it was first by the Marathonians, as they themselves say, that Heracles was considered a god. Among the combatants especially conspicuous in the painting are Callimachus, who was chosen by the Athenians to serve as *polemarch*, Miltiades, one of those who served as *strategos*, and a hero called Echetlus, of whom I shall also make mention later.

It is this figure Echetlus or Echetlaeus whom I propose to consider. The later passage (Paus. 1.32.4–5) occurs in a description of the deme of Marathon and the battle which took place on its plain:

The Marathonians worship those who died in battle, calling them heroes, and also Marathon, from whom the deme gets its name, and Heracles; they claim that among the Greeks it was first by them that Heracles was considered a god. They also say that a man happened to be present in the battle, in appearance and outfit a countryman. He killed many of the barbarians with a plow and, after the battle, disappeared. When the Athenians inquired of the [Delphic] god, he gave only this answer about him: he ordered them to honor Echetlaeus as a hero.

The assistance of gods and heroes in battle is a familiar phenomenon. I need only mention here the Aeacids whose help had been asked before Salamis and who, as armed men, seemed to stretch out their hands from Aegina before the Greek triremes (Plut. *Them.* 15, cf. Hdt. 8.64, 84), while

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¹ On the date and the disputed authorship of the painting, see E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich 1923, II:637, 660–62. On the location of the Stoa, see E. Vanderpool, “The Route of Pausanias in the Athenian Agora,” *Hesperia* 18, 1949, 130, fig. 1, and 136; on the architectural fragments see H. A. Thompson, “Excavations in the Athenian Agora 1949: *Stoa Poikile*,” *Hesperia* 19, 1950, 327–9.

the hero Cychreus of Salamis appeared in the form of a snake on the Greek ships (Paus. 1.36.1). Before the same battle, a cloud of dust from which issued the Iacchus cry of the Eleusinian mysteries moved towards the Greek camp, testifying to divine support for the Greeks and the impending doom of the Persians (Hdt. 8.65). Other examples are at hand from all over the Greek world.²

If we consider who the figures are who give aid at such crises, we see that the heroes usually have some special connection with the place or the people, as in the case of Ajax and Telamon on Salamis (Hdt. 8.64) and the seven *archegetai* of Plataea (Plut. *Arist.* 11), or they have to be fetched to the spot as Aeacus and the rest of the Aeacids had to be brought from Aegina (Hdt. 8.64, 84) and were sent on another occasion by the Aeginetans to Thebes (Hdt. 5.80–1). Gods in the classical period gave help from a distance, as did Pan at Marathon (Hdt. 6.105.2–3), and it is probably in this way that we should understand Athena's position in this painting; but even so the gods with local attachments were more likely to be of service.³ Here, Marathon and Heracles were worshipped locally, for we know, besides what Pausanias tells us, that the Athenians camped on Heracles' precinct (Hdt. 6.108, 116) and that games were held at Marathon in his honor (Pindar *Ol.* 9.134ff., with scholiast).⁴ Athena and Theseus are the champions of the nation, and there is the legend of Theseus and the bull of Marathon (Plut. *Thes.* 14, Apollod. *Epit.* 1.5, Paus. 1.27.10); Plutarch knew a tradition that Theseus appeared in battle for the Greeks at Marathon (Plut. *Thes.* 35). Help may also come from a hero whose prime function is to give aid

² E.g., the Dioscuri, Hdt. 5.75 and Asclepius, *IG iv*² 1.128.58ff. (Isyllus) at Sparta; Ajax the son of Oileus, for whom a space was left in the ranks of the Italian Locrians and who in one battle wounded the Crotonian commander, Paus. 3.19.12–13; Conon, *FGrH* 26, F. 18. Cf. *GGR*, 678–9; J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, 2nd edn, London 1913, 5, on Paus. 10.23.2.

³ The evidence does not show that gods were thought to take the field in person in the classical period, but we do not know the date of the battle between Tanagra and Eretria, in which Hermes appeared as an ephebe (Paus. 9.22.2). Nilsson 1941, 678–9 suggests that there was a reluctance to imagine panhellenic gods as fighting for one particular city (this would hardly prevent their participation in battle against the barbarians). At the level, however, at which these stories arose, it is doubtful that such contradictions would be felt, especially since supernatural figures generally appeared in victory, and not defeat, in itself an indication of which side they had decided to favor. Nor does this account for the reappearance of gods in battle in Hellenistic times when the gods are, if anything, less localized and more universal. It would seem that the predominance of heroes – a term that includes figures of diverse origin – in the stories from the classical period is due to the popularity of their cults, their local and intimate character, and the belief that many had been great men and especially great warriors, rather than to any reluctance to visualize the gods in battle. See A. D. Nock, "The Cult of Heroes," *HTHR* 37, 1944, 162–6.

⁴ On the popularity of the cult of Heracles at Marathon after the Persian Wars see E. Vanderpool, "An Archaic Inscribed Stele from Marathon," *Hesperia* 11, 1942, 335–6.

when the country is attacked: at Delphi, Phylacus, who had a shrine near the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia southeast of Apollo's precinct, along with Autonomous, another local hero, appeared as giant hoplites and attacked the Persians (Hdt. 8.38–9; Paus. 10.8.7). Again, when the Gauls attacked Delphi, Phylacus helped to ward off the enemy (Paus. 10.23.2). The very name of Phylacus suggests the role he played.⁵

In such company Echetlaeus seems out of place if, in fact, he was neither a local nor national hero and was unknown to the Athenians before the battle. Nor does his name – “he of the plow-handle” – suggest his epiphany in battle. It is, therefore, not surprising that the tradition recorded by Pausanias has been more or less vigorously rejected. Farnell, for one, believed that “it is probably a pseudo-historic aetiological story invented to explain a name and a half-forgotten cult, and should not be regarded as proof that the latter [Echetlaeus] originated in the fifth century BC.” He classes him with such other local agricultural heroes as Eunostus (“he of the good return”) of Tanagra.⁶ Indeed, comparison with other heroes who fight in battle strongly suggests the prior existence of Echetlaeus, but, as I hope to show, we need not therefore discount the tradition which says that he had no organized cult up to that time.

In native Greek art, no representation of Echetlaeus is known, but a series of Etruscan funerary urns shows a figure in battle wielding a plow (Fig. 1.1). It has not been possible to identify this figure as the Attic hero, nor as a native demon of death. He appears to be a native Etruscan, but a rustic, warrior hero, perhaps of similar origin but independent of the Attic Echetlaeus.⁷

⁵ Cf. *Teichophylax* at Myrina (Hsch. s.v.), presumably a guardian of the city walls. There is also a *daemon nyktophylax* (Lucian, *De mort. Peregr.* 27–8, 350), cf. T. Hopfner, “Nyktophylax,” *RE* XVII, 1937, 1516–17, but *Horo-* or *Oro-phylax* (A. H. S.; W. M. R., “Notes on a Tour of Asia Minor,” *JHS* 8, 1887, 236–7) may be the title of an official. Cf. also *Hoplophylax* used of Heracles (Drexler in Roscher, *Lex.*, s.v.) and Apollo *Prophylax* (*IG* xii 7.419, Amorgos). Phylax is attached to a variety of gods and heroes, cf. J. Schmidt, “Phylax,” *RE* XX, 1941, 991–2. In addition to his name, the location of the shrine of Phylacus on an approach to the main sanctuary may be significant for his function. So far his *temenos* has not been certainly identified; cf. R. Demangel, *Fouilles de Delphes*, II.5, *Topographie et architecture. Le sanctuaire d'Athéna Pronaia*, 3, *Topographie du sanctuaire*, Paris 1926, 74, 1057.

⁶ Farnell 1921, 88. Cf. C. Robert, “Die Marathonschlacht in der Poikile und Weiteres über Polygnot,” *HallWPr* 18, 1895, 34f., and W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 3rd edn, W. Amelung, E. Reisch and F. Weege, eds., Leipzig 1913, II:424.

⁷ See especially G. Körte in H. Brunn and G. Körte, eds., *I rilievi delle urne etrusche*, Berlin 1916, III:11–16, fig. 3, and Pls. iv–vii; E. Mangani, *Grosseto: Museo Archeologico e d'arte della Maremma*, CVA fasc. 62–3, Rome 1986, 105.1–4, 106–7, where it is noted that there are hundreds of examples of this scene, and a version on a larger scale with the presence of a winged female demon. H. Winckelmann called this figure Echetlaeus; see *Werke*, vol. III, H. Meyer and



Fig. 1.1 Etruscan funerary urn; mid second to early first century BC. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Archeologica di Firenze.

J. Schulze, eds., Dresden 1809, 91, 170, 380–1; Cf. G. Zoëga, *Die antiken Basreliefs von Rom*, tr. and ed. F. G. Welcker, Giessen 1811, 304–6, Pl. 40. Robert 1895, 32–4, attempting to reconstruct the painting of the battle of Marathon, reaffirmed the identification. The contrary view has been presented by G. Conestabile della Staffa, *Dei monumenti di Perugia etrusca e romana*, Perugia, 1855–70, Pl. 47–73 (*non vidi*, cited by Robert 1895, 32, note 39); Helbig 1913, II:424, cf. 277; I. Schultz, in Roscher, *Lex.*, s.v. “Echetlos”; A. S. F. Gow “The Ancient Plough,” *JHS* 34, 1914, 252, n. 10, but cf. A. G. Drachmann, s.v. “Pflug” *RE* XIX, 1938, 1463. Körte 1916, 15 suggested that the Etruscans may have acquired their plow hero in their earlier home in the Near East, on the basis of the interpretation of Judges 3:31 by his friend R. Smend: the *malmaḏ* with which Shamgar slew six hundred Philistines is explained as a plow instead of an ox-goad, the usual translation. The suggestion is hazardous in the extreme. F. H. Massa-Pairault, *Recherches sur l’art et l’artisanat étrusco-italiques à l’époque hellénistique*, *BÉFAR* 257, 1985, 230–1 also rejects the identification with Echetlaeus, pointing out that the Attic hero’s opponents should have been in Persian dress. Her own suggestion, that the figure is the early Athenian king Codrus, is no improvement. She is forced to identify the plow with the *drepanon*, “sickle” (or *drepane*, but not *drepanos* as she gives it), said to have been Codrus’ weapon. (On Codrus, see N. Robertson, *Festivals and Legends: The Formation of Greek Cities in the Light of Public Ritual*, *Phoenix* Suppl. 31, 1992, 10.) As A. Rastrelli, in E. Mangani, *Grosseto: Museo Archeologico e d’arte della Maremma*, CVA fasc. 62–3, 1986, 107, notes, the plow-wielding Etruscan figure is not explained by identification with external heroes. She cites a scholarly consensus that the scene reflects the social struggles of the second century BC in Etruria, an interpretation which seems to me much more doubtful.

In themselves the Etruscan representations do not add to our knowledge of Echetlaeus. It is to his name and his distinctive weapon that we must look for further understanding.

Echetlaeus performed his feats with the plow, the *arotron*. His name, however, in the second form given by Pausanias is an adjective derived from the ἐχέτλη, the plow-handle, -tail, or -stilt, by which the plowman grasps and guides the plow and on which a strong pressure, according to the *Geoponica* (2.2.3), ensures a deep furrow (Echetlus is probably a shortened form of Echetlaeus).⁸ To describe Echetlaeus as “the hero of the plow-share” as does Farnell (followed by Garland) or even of the plow-share or plow-handle, as does Schwenn, is misleading.⁹ The plow-share, in particular the

⁸ On the ancient plow in general, see Drachmann 1938, 1461–72; on the early Greek plow see Gow 1914, 249–75; A. W. Mair, *Hesiod: The Poems and Fragments*, Oxford 1908, 158–62; T. A. Sinclair, *Hesiod's Works and Days*, London 1932, on lines 427 and 433; E. A. Gardner in *A Companion to Greek Studies*, ed. L. Whibley, Cambridge 1906, 539, fig. 3 and 540. Pollux (1.252) uses ἐχέτλη of the whole upright stick while the short horizontal piece actually grasped by the hand is the *cheirolabis*, cf. Hesiod *Op.* 467–8 ἄκρον ἐχέτλης | χειρὶ λαβών, “holding in your hand the end of the *echetle*” and Gow 1914, 250 and note 60. The distinction is not made elsewhere, e.g., Phot. *Suda*, Hsch. *Et. Mag.*, s.v.; E. Saglio, “Aratrum”, *Dar-Sag* 1.354, describes the beam as the ἐχέτλη, in his fig. 429, the Etruscan warrior with the plow; he is evidently influenced by his identification of the warrior with Echetlaeus. The adjective *echetlaeus* is one of a number of divine or heroic epithets derived from objects: cf. *herkos*, “fence” and Zeus Hercius; *tegos*, “roof” and the hero Epitegius (*IG* i² 310.82–3; ii² 5071); *pyle*, “gate” and Hermes Pylaeus and Propylaeus; *ogmos*, “furrow” and Demeter Epogmius (*Anth. Pal.* 6.258). The Aloades (Otus and Ephialtes) may come from the *aloe*, “worked land”; they had graves in Anthedon in Boeotia (Paus. 9.22.6) and in Crete (Plin. *HN* 7.73; Sall. ap. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3.578) and they were worshipped as heroes on Naxos (Diod. Sic. 5.51.2; *IG* i² 5.56). With Echetlus as a shortened name derived from Echetlaeus cf. Iphiklos from Iphiklees, Perimos from Perimedes, etc. It is extremely unlikely that parallel forms, Echetlus and Echetlaeus, originally existed side by side. Such parallel forms as *cheimetlon* besides *cheimetle*, “chillblain” are no help for the meaning of a presumed independent form Echetlus. Echetlaeus, from *echetle*, clearly means “he of the plow-handle,” but Echetlus, on the analogy of Melissus (from *melissa*), “being like a bee,” Coronus (from *korone*), “being like a crow,” would have to mean “being like a plow-handle,” and for such a meaning there is no support.

⁹ Farnell 1921, 71; R. Garland, *Introducing New Gods*, Ithaca, NY 1992, 54; F. Schwenn, “Triptolemos,” *RE* VIIA, 1939, 216. I do not believe their translations are based on Hesychius’s gloss on ἐχέτλη, where only in our sources, after the usual explanation, there is added καὶ ἡ αὔλαξ, “the furrow” καὶ ἡ σπάθη τοῦ ἀρότρου, “blade of the plow”. Gow 1914, 265, note 46, comments: “For these meanings there is no other evidence nor are they intrinsically probable.” I know of no ancient use of *spathe* in this sense, but in the present day Mani (the middle of the three prongs of the Peloponnesus) I have heard it used of the brace between the beam, to which the pole is attached, and the stock, the wooden part of the share to which the metal tip, the *hynis*, is attached. The *Lexikon Helleniko-Gallikon*, ed. A. Epites, Athens 1926, s.v., described the *spathe* as the part of the plow to which is attached the *histoboe* (“the pole” – I heard only *stavari* in this sense) in the dialects of Epirus and Karpathos; this would seem to describe the plow beam when the pole and beam are separate. The usual Greek plow of the early twentieth century can be seen in R. M. Dawkins, “The Modern Carnival in Thrace and the Cult of Dionysus,” *JHS* 26, 1906, 201, fig. 8 and Gow 1914, 258, fig. 10, but in the Mani and Crete, at least, the upright ἐχέτλη of antiquity survives. For antiquity see Drachmann 1938, 1471–2.

metal tip, the *hynis*, because of its phallic and fertilizing function, is used in modern Greek customs directed to human fertility and especially the birth of male children, as well as to the fertility of the fields, and these practices find parallels, for example, in India; possibly the modern Greek customs have their origin in the ancient world.¹⁰ But Echetlaeus is the hero of the plow-handle, which is not the object of attention in such practices. The plow as a whole is involved in a number of interesting rituals and a hero is most likely to be derived from the plow when it is the focus of religious attention, though, strange to say, no divine or heroic epithet is derived directly from the name of the plow or the act of plowing in Greece.¹¹ The “ox-yoker,” Bouzyges, in Attica is the closest parallel. We should first see, however, when the plow-handle in particular is the center of interest.

Because of the importance of plowing in an agricultural society, in many cultures the task is attended by various ceremonies; these are attached primarily to the commencement of plowing and sowing, and in Greece they were a joint operation.¹² This example of the special importance of initial acts survives in Greece today in the blessing of a sheaf of grain in church before plowing begins.¹³ In Italy the plow-share used for the first furrow, Pliny tells us (*HN* 28.267), was put on the *focus Larum* (hearth of the Lares) to keep wolves from the fields. In Indochina the plow with which the ceremonial plowing of the rice-fields is performed is purified in advance with water.¹⁴ In Athens the very first plow ever yoked to oxen was dedicated to Athena and preserved on the Acropolis (Schol. Aeschin. 56.23–5 Dindorf). A Greek superstition which held that one should curse and swear while sowing cumin to ensure a good crop (Theophr. *HP* 7.3.3, 9.8.8; Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 7.2.2, 700F–701A; Plin. *HN* 19.120; Ariston ap. (Damasc.) *Parabol. Flor.* II.13.83, IV. 200, 11 Mein. = Stob. II.31.83, p. 215 Wachsm.) is

¹⁰ Cf. K. A. Romaios, “Το “Υνι κατά τον Γάμον,” (the plow-share at the wedding) *Laographia* 7, 1923, 346–68. Cf. H. A. Rose, “Magic (Indian),” in Hastings, *ERE* 8.289.

¹¹ But cf. perhaps Hsch. s.v. Ἀρωτος: Ἡρακλῆς παρὰ Μακεδόσιν. The second vowel is uncertain since the word is placed out of alphabetical order between ἀρητόν and ἄρθεος. Cf. O. Hoffman, *Die Makedonen*, Göttingen 1906, 93. For epithets from the plow in Indian mythology, see below, note 16.

¹² See Hes. *Op.* 391 with the comments of Sinclair 1932 and Mair 1908, 126, 130, 135–6.

¹³ See K. Sittl, *Hesiodou ta Hapanta*, Athens 1889, on *Op.* 465.

¹⁴ W. D. Wallis, *Religion in Primitive Society*, New York 1939, 99. Comparative material is widespread, e.g., P. V. Glob on votive deposits of wooden plows in Scandinavia and a rock carving of a plowing rite in south Sweden: *Strena Archaeologica A. M. Tallgren Sexagenario Dedicata*, Helsingfors 1945, summarized in *AJA* 52, 1948, 225. B. Ashmole, “Kalligeneia and Hieros Arotos,” *JHS* 66 1946, 7–10, interprets a plowing scene on a Siana cup in the British Museum (see below, note 22) as a representation of the *hieros arotos*. The explanation depends on the doubtful interpretation of the other scene on the cup as the Kalligeneia at the Thesmophoria.

paralleled in public ritual by the *Bouzygeioi arai*, the curses pronounced by the Bouzyges (the “ox-yoker”) at the time of the sacred plowing at Athens, against those who do not share water or fire, or do not show the lost the way (Diphilus fr. 62 Kock [II. 561] ap. Athen. 6, 238F; *Paroem. Graec.* 1.388) and against those who suffer a body to lie unburied (Schol. Soph. *Ant.* 255). The magical, apotropaic practices of the sower of cumin are echoed and elaborated on the public level as curses against any member of the community who, by offending the gods, endangers the success of this state plowing and consequently all plowing in the state.

In Attica alone we know of three sacred, public plowings (Plut. *Con. Praecep.* 42, 144A–B) and undoubtedly similar ceremonies took place elsewhere in Greece. It seems probable that originally Eleusis and Athens each had a public plowing, the one on the Rarian plain, the other below the Acropolis near the sanctuary of Demeter Chloe (cf. *IG* ii² 5006), conducted by the family of the Bouzygae who traced their descent from the original Bouzyges who first yoked oxen to the plow. The third plowing, at Sciron, is thought to be a compromise between the two states at the time of their union.¹⁵ The intent of all three plowings, we may be sure, was to procure a good crop by ensuring that all the plowing in Attica was performed properly and with the good will of the appropriate divinities. A similar state ceremony is performed in Thailand. The plowman, the minister of agriculture *ex officio*, is called Baladeva, the name of an Echetlaeus-like figure of Indian mythology who performs various feats with his plow and has various titles derived from the plow.¹⁶

¹⁵ See O. Kern, “Arotoi ieroi,” *RE* II, 1896, 1215–17; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, 46–8; C. Robert, “Athena Skiras und die Skirophorien,” *Hermes* 20, 1885, 378. The contention that the Bouzygae also performed the Eleusinian plowing is not proved. The scholiast on Aristid. *Or.* (II, 175 Dindorf) says that those who cared for the sacred cows used for plowing at Eleusis were called Bouzygae and an inscription of the second century AD shows one official among others called Bouzyges (*IG* ii² 1092 B, 32 = J. H. Oliver, “The Eleusinian Endowment,” *Hesperia* 21, 1952, 382, l. 51). This does not mean he was of the clan of the Bouzygae, cf. O. Rubensohn, “Eleusinische Beiträge,” *AthMitt* 24, 1899, 59–60. In view of the prominence of the Eteoboutadae rather than the Bouzygae at the plowing at Sciron (Lysimachides, fr. 3 *FGrH*), presumed to be a compromise between the two national plowings, it would be strange to find the Bouzygae dominant at both the other two; cf. Robertson 1992, 20 and note 59. H. L. Lorimer, “Stars and Constellations in Homer and Hesiod,” *BSA* 46, 1951, 94, n. 17, believes that Boutes, the eponym of the Boutadae, is the Attic form of Βούτης, “plowman,” although in Aeschylus and Euripides the common noun is used with the meaning *boukolos*.

¹⁶ See G. E. Gerini, “Festivals and Fasts (Siamese),” in Hastings, *ERE* 5. 886B. Epithets derived from the plow attached to Baladeva, also known as Balarama, include *Haladhara*, *Halabhrit*, *Sirabhrit*, *Sirapāni*, *Halayudha*, *Halin*; cf. Hastings, *ERE* 7.195B. I am grateful to a member of the audience at the time of oral presentation of this paper for reminding me of the ceremonial

Other Greek rituals which are close to the plowing ceremonies are the Proerosia, the “before plowing ceremonies,” at Eleusis, and the Thesmophoria at Athens, not to mention the Eleusinian mysteries. The Proerosia were held on the fifth of Pyanopsion, the Attic month of plowing, and were, according to a gloss in *Suda*, s.v., “sacrifices taking place before plowing for the future crops, that they may be brought to maturity.” A fragment of a song addressed to Kore seems to indicate that she was conceived of as participating in the subsequent sacred plowing (Plut. ap. Proclus in Hes. *Op.* 389). The Thesmophoria took place at the time of sowing (cf. Plut. *Is. et Os.* 69, 378E; Cornutus 28, 55.7 Lang) and included the bringing up from the underground *megara* of the pigs and other fertility charms thrown down after harvest, early in the summer in the month of Scirophorion, and the mixing of the remains with the seed to be sown.¹⁷ Thus the ceremonies at the time of plowing and sowing are not isolated rites but continue the power preserved throughout the summer months by ensuring that the seed enters the ground safely and sets in motion the whole process of growth which will be fostered throughout the year by other rites,¹⁸ and will culminate in the harvest and its ceremonies. At Athens the Scira, the Thesmophoria, and the sacred plowing at Sciron, and perhaps the Arretophoria and the sacred plowing below the Acropolis, spanned the period between harvest and sowing, and there are traces of a similar continuum in present-day customs reported from Lygourion in the Argolid.¹⁹ At Magnesia on the Maeander a ritual spanned the period between sowing and harvest. A bull was dedicated to Zeus Sosipolis at the beginning of sowing with a prayer for the safety of the city and its people, for peace, wealth, and the bringing forth of wheat, all other crops, and herds (*SIG*³ 589.7, 26–31; *LSAM* 32, 26–31). The bull was fed throughout the winter and killed, it seems probable, at harvest time. This is but one example of a

plowing formerly performed each spring by the Chinese emperor at the Hsien Nung T'an, the so-called Altar of Agriculture, in Beijing. See L. C. Arlington and W. Lewisohn, *In Search of Old Peking*, Beijing 1935, 113–16.

¹⁷ Cf. Deubner 1932, 68–9 for the Proerosia, 50–2 for the Thesmophoria. Cf. the month Paratios (Sept./Oct.) at Epidaurus, e.g., *IG* iv² 21.103, 136.

¹⁸ E.g., on Mykonos, in winter and early spring, 12th of Poseidon to Demeter Chloe, two sows, one pregnant . . . 10th of Lenaion: a pregnant sow (*primipara*) to Demeter “for the crop” (along with sacrifices to Kore and Zeus Bouleus) . . . 12th of Lenaion: to Zeus Chthonius and Ge Chthonia, black yearling sheep “for the crops,” *SIG*³ 1024; *LSCG* 96. For Attica, e.g., the Pompaia and Zeus Meilichius in the month of Maimakterion. Deubner 1932, 157–8, “Zeus Meilichius ist ja den Zeus Χθόνιος nächst verwandt” (Zeus Meilichius is thus closely related to Zeus Chthonius).

¹⁹ See D. Euaggelides, “Συνήθια τοῦ θεροῦ καὶ τῆς Σπορᾶς” (Customs of harvest and sowing), *Laographia* 3, 1911, 675–6; Romaios 1923, 365; Robertson 1992, 20.

distinctive type of sacrifice of which the best-known representative is the Attic Bouphonia.²⁰

The object of these public rites on a considerably more elaborate scale and performed for the whole state corresponds to the desires of the individual farmer as he performs his seasonal tasks. Vergil tells no one to begin the harvest before making simple dances and songs for Ceres (*G.* 1.347–50). No one, says Epictetus (*Arrian Epict.* 3.21.12), leaves port before sacrificing to the gods for his safety and no one starts to sow before praying to Demeter. Maximus of Tyre shows that the individual farmer performed his own bloodless Proerosia among other agricultural rites (292.16 ff. Hobein). The ceremonies at the public plowings correspond, as Frazer pointed out, to the individual farmer's prayer as he starts his own plowing.²¹ In some parts of Greece this prayer was perhaps called the *pratasia*, a word which Hesychius, s.v., also equates with Proerosia. Hesiod says (*Op.* 465–9): “Pray to Zeus of the earth and pure Demeter that the holy grain of Demeter may be ripe and heavy as you first begin plowing when, having taken the top of the plow-handle [the *echetle*] in your hand, you come down with the goad on the backs of the oxen as they tug at the strap-pin.” The pose described is to be seen on a number of vase-paintings.²² Here the *echetle* is the center of attention. In the simple ritual, without procession, priests, and sacrifice, the farmer asks blessing on his immediate task, the plowing and sowing. Well done and with the gods' help he may truly hope for a good return. He grasps the handle of the plow as he makes his prayer, in effect, asking the gods to put *their* hands to what he is holding; touch plays no little part in magic and ritual.²³

²⁰ See Nilsson 1941, 140–3. On the survival of this type of sacrifice, see K. A. Romaios, “Cultes populaires de la Thrace,” *Collection de l'Institut français d'Athènes 18: Cahiers d'Hellénisme*, I: Athens 1949, 50–67. The reviling of the slayer of the plow ox should not be confused with the cursing at the time of plowing.

²¹ Frazer 1911, VII:50, 53.

²² E.g., (I). interior of a black-figured kylix (band-cup) in Berlin, 1806, signed by Nicosthenes as potter: F. Gerhard, *Trinkschalen und Gefässe des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, Berlin 1848–50, Pl. 1 – whence A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, Munich and Leipzig 1885, Pl. 1, fig. 12, a, b. *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1889, Pl. VII, 2a – whence J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases*, Paris 1924, 185; (II). exterior of a black-figured kylix (Siana cup) in the British Museum, 1906, 12–15.1, CVA III He, Pl. 10, 6b, Ashmole 1946, Pl. iii, b, f, g; (III). black-figured kylix in the Louvre, F 77, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, Paris 1936, II:290, a, b. Baumeister 1885, fig. 13a, b, shows an old drawing taken from O. Jahn, *BerSächsGesWiss* 1867, Pl. 1, 2. See also below, note 28.

²³ It is as an example of the combination of pious prayer and practical action that Plutarch (*De Superst.* 169b) cites one line of this passage (*Op.* 465) adding in his own words “holding on to the ἐχέτηλη” from two lines later, and includes the passage with other prayers offered in critical

In battle Echetlaeus in properly heroic fashion wields the whole plow, the *arotron*, but his point of origin is the plow-handle as the farmer holds it and makes his prayer. At the simplest, Echetlaeus need only be the *daimôn* developing from this prayer, a figure evolved to hear the prayer and become the recipient of whatever simple offerings, perhaps at one time predeistic, may have been made at this moment, as some modern Greek survivals strongly suggest (see [note 19](#)). He may, indeed, have had more of a cult than this; there is the parallel of the bloodless, private Proerosia and we know that by the fourth century BC the *Fasti* of the Marathonian Tetrapolis paid ample attention to minor local heroes, e.g., a certain Galios to whom a ram was sacrificed, significantly, on the day before the Scira.²⁴ But as such rites are elaborated, the attention shifts from the inconspicuous plow-handle to the rites themselves. Echetlaeus owes his origin at least to the simpler stage. We may interpret Pausanias' report to mean that he had not received formal, certainly not public, cult before Marathon. His name and the tradition point to the same conclusion and it is unnecessary to follow Farnell and suppose that the tradition of the founding of a public cult is only the aetiological explanation of a half-forgotten name and cult. As a figure close to the hearts of the Marathonian peasants it is not surprising that he should have appeared in battle on their fields and have been elevated to full heroic rank. We might recall the miraculous manifestation of a cloud of dust from which issued the Iacchus cry at the battle of Salamis (Hdt. 8.65) and the fact that Iacchus himself is little more than a personification of the Iacchus cry; the incident before Salamis may have had much to do with his emergence as an individual, even as the worship of Pan in Attica dates from Marathon.²⁵ Demeter seems to have derived two of her epithets from farmers' songs: Ioulo, from *ioulos*, a sheaf of grain and a song (Semus fr. 19, *FHG* ap. Athen. 14, 618D–E), and Himalis (Polemo *Hist. frs.* 39 and 74, *FHG* ap. Athen. 3, 109A and 10, 416B), *himalis* being the return (*nostos*) of grain (cf. the hero Eunostos) but also a song sung at the mill (Tryphon ap. Athen. 14, 618D; Hsch. s.v.; Poll. 4.53). The mysterious Lityerses was at least a figure in story as well as the name of a reapers' song (Poll. 4.54).

(*peristatikois*) circumstances, such as that of the helmsman who sees a sudden storm come up and, as he prays, lays his hand to tiller and sail. (All such combinations of pious and practical action Plutarch contrasts with the behavior of the superstitious man who is incapable of practical action and, by implication, with the atheist who refuses all piety.)

²⁴ *IG* ii² 1358 (*LegSac* no. 26) B 51, cf. 30–3. On the heroes of the Tetrapolis, see S. Solders, *Die Ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas*, Lund 1931, 93–7.

²⁵ Cf. M. P. Nilsson, "Die Eleusinischen Gottheiten," *ARW* 32, 1935, 83–4; O. Kern, "Iakchos," *RE* IX, 1914, 613–22. Cf. Linus and the cry *ailinon*, Hymenaeus and *hymen hymenae*.

Hesiod recommends prayer to Zeus Chthonius and Demeter. Characteristically, he elects the two most common patrons of agriculture throughout the Greek world: Zeus, not the god of the underworld, but of the fertile soil, the farmer's god who receives sacrifice "for the crops" in company with Ge Chthonia on Mykonos (*SIG*³ 1024.24–25; *LSCG* 96, 24–5). Demeter herself is Chthonia in Hermione (Paus. 2.35.5–8) and Sparta (Paus. 3.14.5). Under other titles, both are found in numerous agricultural roles. It is Demeter who dominates the Scira and Thesmophoria, the Eleusinian mysteries and the Proerosia, and with Zeus-like figures in Asia Minor are connected reliefs of oxen drawing the plow.²⁶

There is reason, however, to believe that there was considerable local variation in the identity of the gods who watched over the plowing. Figures who later appear as culture heroes, the reputed inventors of the plow or the art of yoking oxen, must often be regarded as originally involved in the ceremonies at plowing time. Bouzyges, we may well believe, was no inventor but the eponym of the clan whose name derived from their hereditary role as sacred plowmen. Dionysus was also described as the first to yoke oxen to the plow (Diod. Sic. 3.64.1, 4.4.2) and in a modern Thracian plowing ritual which shows strong traces of a Dionysiac origin, a prayer is made which Hesiod would surely have echoed: "May wheat be ten piastres the bushel! Rye five piastres the bushel! Barley three piastres the bushel! Amen, O God, that the poor may eat! Yea, O God, that poor folk be filled!"²⁷ To Poseidon, whose agricultural ties are well recognized, were dedicated at Corinth votive plaques with representations of oxen, once apparently drawing a plow (*JDAI* 12, 1897, 31, F 729, cf. 44, n. 85).

In Athens, Athena Polias participated in the plowing at Sciron and, no doubt, originally dominated the plowing below the Acropolis. Athena appears beside Bouzyges and his plow on an Attic vase of about 425 BC.²⁸ A

²⁶ For Demeter as inventor of the plow, see *Hymn. Orph.* 40.8; for the agricultural epithets of Demeter see H. Usener, *Götternamen*, 2nd edn, Bonn 1929, 242–7. Cf. especially the prayer at harvest time to Demeter Epogmuis for a good crop, *Anth. Pal.* 6.258, and Demeter *Eualosia* (Hsch., s.v.). For the plow and Zeus in Asia Minor, e.g. Zeus Bronton, see *AthMitt* 25, 1900, 417–18; G. Mendel, "Catalogue des monuments grecs, romains et byzantins du Musée Impérial Ottoman de Brousse," *BCH* 33, 1909, 290–300, nn. 47, 48, 52, figs. 19, 20, 24. For Zeus Dios, see *GGA* 159, 1897, 409–10. On gravestones in the form of dedications, especially to Zeus Bronton, see *MAMA* 5, 1937, xxxiv–vii, and cf. *MAMA* 6, 1939, n. 275, Pl. 49; n. 311, Pl. 55; n. 322, Pl. 56; n. 362, Pl. 63. The reference in *Etym. Magn.* s.v. *zeuxai*, to Zeus as the one who first yoked mules for the sowing of crops is probably purely etymological. On a possible plowing ceremony in Asia Minor, see D. E. L. Haynes, "A Group of East Greek Bronzes," *JHS* 72, 1952, 74–5.

²⁷ Dawkins 1906, 193–204, and, in a most important study, Romaos 1949, 121.

²⁸ Red-figured bell krater by the Hephaestus painter in the collection of Professor D. M. Robinson, now in Oxford, MI, "Bouzyges and the First Plough on a Krater by the Painter of the

curious story found only in Servius (in Verg. *Aen.* 4.402) suggests even some special connection between Athena and the *echetle*. Athena invented the plow to match Demeter's agricultural benefactions; a favorite of Athena's, an Attic maiden by the name of Myrmix, stole the *stiva*, i.e., *echetle* (without which, of course, the plow could not be guided and the share would not bite the earth), and claimed the invention for her own. She was turned into an ant, the farmer's enemy, as punishment. Zeus in pity saw to it that the illustrious Myrmidons were descended from her.²⁹ Even in Hesiod's Boeotia, where the plowing month was called Damatrios (Plut. *Is. et Os.* 69, 378E), Athena had the title Boarmia (Lycophr. 520 and schol.) and in Thessaly she was Boudeia (Lycophr. 359 and Tzetzes *ad loc.*), both names referring to her yoking of oxen.³⁰

In Attica, besides Bouzyges we hear of another mortal, Epimenides, who invented the plow.³¹ Bouzyges himself owes his existence to the sacred plowing below the Acropolis and the role of *bouzygês* played by the clan of the Bouzygae: the same title if not the same family is known from Eleusis (Schol. on Aristides *Or.* 2, 175 Dindorf; *IG ii*² 1092, B32). To him Echetlaeus has been compared despite some significant differences:³² all the probability is against either a priestly family or a public rite, both essential to the concept of Bouzyges, to which Echetlaeus could be attached before Marathon. At Argos it was Homogyrus who first yoked oxen to the plow (Varro *Rust.* 2.5.4; August. *De civ. D.* 18.6). Probably the story of Triptolemus' invention of the plow was the most widespread, although the nature of his connection with the plow in the earlier period is doubtful; the only two early representations of him with the plow do not show him plowing, as in the vase-painting of

Naples Hephaistos," *AJA* 35, 1931, 153, fig. 1, CVA II, Pl. 48, 2; A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, III, 1, Cambridge 1940, 606, Pl. XLV; J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figured Vase-painters*, Oxford 1942, 391, 19.

²⁹ It may be noted that the ants are themselves plowmen, "clod-breakers," (*bolotomoi*, *Anth. Pal.* 9.438), cf. *bolostropheo* of plowing. Were it not for the considerable evidence connecting Athena with agriculture in early Attica one would be tempted to dismiss this story as a late metamorphosis myth and the *stiva* as nothing more than the most easily detached and stolen part of the plow.

³⁰ On Boarmia, see F. Solmsen, "Drei boiotische Eigennamen," *RhM* 53, 1898, 145–6; on Boudeia, see P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, Göttingen 1896, 419. Cf. Cook 1940, III.1:608, notes 3 and 4, whose doubts stem from his desire to assign Athena's connection with the Attic plowing ritual originally to Demeter in Eleusis.

³¹ Serv. in Verg. *Georg.* 1.19 (= Aristotle fr. 386 Rose), Hsch. s.v. *Bouzyges*, and Schol. Townl., *Il.* 18.483. Cf. O. Kern s.v. "Epimenides," *RE* VI, 1909, 173, who believes he was originally distinct from both Bouzyges and the Cretan Epimenides.

³² J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, Berlin 1889, 140, n. 1; Schwenn 1939, 216. For the possibility that Boutos, the eponym of the Boutadae, was a hero of the plow, see Lorimer 1951; in Apollodorus (3.15.1) he is the husband of Chthonia.

Bouzyges, and in one of these cases he has no intention of plowing for he is about to leave in his winged chariot, standing close by.³³

This rapid survey will have shown the considerable variety in the cast of gods and heroes who were concerned with the sacred rites at plowing. In this number there is ample room for Echetlaeus from the Marathonian Tetrapolis. The hero who appeared at the battle of Marathon, defending his compatriots from the barbarians with a plow, derived his name from the plow-handle. The plow-handle is the center of interest when the farmer first grasps it to start his furrow for the fall plowing and prays for success in his task. Echetlaeus is a hero of this rite and this moment. His specialized function obviated the need for any more formal cult until, in the eyes of his fellow farmers, he joined them in battle and won the respect of all Attica and the god of Delphi.

³³ Cf. Nilsson 1935, 85, n. 3, and Rubensohn 1899, 59–71, who argues for the antiquity of “Triptolemos als Pflüger” (Triptolemus as plowman). The two representations are on (1) a Boeotian red-figured skyphos attributed to the Painter of the Judgment of Paris, Berlin inv. 3414, *AthMitt* 24, 1899, Pl. VII – whence Cook 1914, 224, fig. 165, and *AthMitt* 65, 1940, Pl. 10, 2; and (2) a bell krater by the Hector Painter, Cabinet des Médailles 424, *Bollettino archeologico napolitano* 1, 1843, Pl. 2, Cook 1914, Pl. XX, Gow 1914, 255, fig. 6, Beazley 1942, 685, 12.

The story of Perseus was one of the most popular of Greek myths. It has long been recognized that in its Panhellenic form the story and its representations in art have clear Near Eastern connections.¹ The myth was so widespread and had such a long history in art that it may be difficult to uncover its local form in the one place with a strong, early claim to the hero. It is only at Mycenae that evidence of his cult has been found, in a late Archaic inscription (*IG* iv 493). Mycenae was destroyed ca. 468 BC and its people dispersed (*Diod. Sic.* 11.65; *Paus.* 2.16.5). Their customs and stories did not survive into the period of Greek antiquarianism, to which we owe so much of our knowledge of local cult and myth. In the Hellenistic period for not much more than a century a town was reestablished by the Argives.² In the late second century AD there was a fountain house and a shrine of the

Originally published in G. Nordquist, ed., *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid*, *ActaAth* 4°–40, Stockholm 1990, 213–23.

The starting point of this paper was the late L. H. Jeffery's giving me photographs of three fragments of an inscription which she had taken for J. Papademetriou when he was excavating at Mycenae. This led to research on the inscription by M. T. Mitsos and myself; my suggestions on the nature of the cult of Perseus are a by-product of that study. I am most grateful to Miss Jeffery and to Dr. Mitsos, and, for many courtesies, to Dr. K. Delmouzou and her staff at the Epigraphical Museum, Athens, and the staff of the Archaeological Museum at Nauplion.

¹ The Near Eastern connections have most recently been discussed by M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*, Oxford 1997; W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, Cambridge, MA 1992, esp. 85–7; on Perseus, "Oriental and Greek Mythology: The Meeting of Parallels," in J. Bremmer, ed., *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*, London 1987, 10–40, esp. 26–9, and in "Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur," *SitzHeid* 1, 1984, 82–4. Particularly important is C. Hopkins, "Assyrian Elements in the Perseus-Gorgon story," *AJA* 38, 1934, 341–58; more in H. Kantor, "A Bronze Plaque from Tell Tainat," *JNES* 21, 1962, 93–117. See also R. D. Barnett, "Some Contacts between Greek and Oriental Religions," in *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne*, Strasbourg 1961, 143–53; B. Goldman, "The Asiatic Ancestry of the Greek Gorgon," *Berytus* 14, 1961, 1–22; C. Hopkins, "The Sunny Side of the Gorgon," *Berytus* 14, 1961, 25–35. The iconographic and mythological aspects are not always adequately distinguished. For the story type, see especially J. Fontenrose, *Python: A Study of the Delphic Myth and its Origins*, Berkeley 1959, 274–306, and, more generally, E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus: A Study of Tradition in Story, Custom and Belief*, vols. 1–3, London 1894–6.

² M. T. Mitsos, *Politiki Istoria tou Argous*, Athens 1945, 66; J. A. Degrate, "Coins from the Mycenae excavations, 1939–1962," *ABSA* 64, 1974, 95–102, who shows that the town probably was in existence from the early third century to sometime in the second century BC.

hero, on the way from Mycenae to Argos (Paus. 2.18.1). He was honored by the people of the surrounding countryside. According to Pausanias, the most important cults in his time were at Seriphos and Athens, though no archaeological evidence for them has yet been found.³

Argos appropriated the hero's exploits but apparently had no cult place for him. Continued recognition of his ties to Mycenae is shown by the story of his having exchanged Argos for Tiryns and Mycenae (Apollod. 2.4.4; Paus. 2.16.3) and by the explanation of the place name, either from the fact that the pommel of his sword (ὁ μύκης) fell to the ground there, or that being thirsty he pulled a mushroom from the ground (mushroom is the literal meaning of μύκης), whereupon water gushed out (Paus. 2.16.3). The second explanation is interesting because it suggests a primary connection with the spring.⁴

To discern the character of the local cult we have first to determine what is securely connected with Mycenae. Two late Archaic inscriptions have been found between the Lion Gate and the "Tomb of Clytemnestra," the first by Tsountas in 1892, the second, unpublished, by Papademetriou in the 1950s.⁵ They come from the vicinity of a Hellenistic fountain house whose remains have been investigated by the British School (see map, Fig. 2.1). It is reasonably taken to be the κρήνη (spring) mentioned by Pausanias as in the ruins of Mycenae (2.16.6).⁶

The first inscription found (Fig. 2.2) runs around a poros capping block, which in style is hardly a conventional capital. The more recent finds are

³ J. H. Croon, however, in "The Mask of the Underworld Daemon: Some Remarks on the Perseus-Gorgon story," *JHS* 75, 1955, 9–16, saw "Seriphos as the center of the famous Perseus-Gorgon legend." An essential link in his argument is the presence of hot springs, not mentioned in antiquity for Seriphos, nor ever anywhere explicitly connected with either figure. To Athens is attributed a distinct tradition whereby Athena obtained the Gorgon head for her aegis by defeating the Gorgons in battle. It has been suggested that Perseus was confounded with the local figure Perreus: L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, Oxford 1921, 337.

⁴ A third etymology was from the groan (μυκητύμος) of the pursuing Gorgons when they despaired of catching Perseus: Ktesias ap. Ps-Plutarch *de Fluviiis* 18.6.7, 314 Bernardakis.

⁵ The first inscription is Athens Epigraphic Museum 218; C. Tsountas, "Ἐπιγραφή ἐκ Μυκηναίων," *ArchEph* 1892, 67; *IG* iv 493; L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, 172 and 174, note 1, and Pl. 31, 1. Information on the discovery of the second came from the late L. H. Jeffery.

⁶ M. Holland and M. S. F. Hood, "Mycenae 1939–1952, Part II: The Perseia Fountain House," *BSA* 48, 1953. H. Schliemann, *Mykenae*: Leipzig 1878, 150 and Plan D, identified a copious spring east of the citadel as the Perseia and supposed it fed the fountain house seen by Pausanias. A. J. B. Wace, *Mycenae: An Archaeological History and Guide*, Princeton 1949, 40 and 99, reported terracotta pipes and rock-cut channels. G. Karo, "Die Perseia von Mycenae," *AJA* 38, 1934, 123–7 called the underground cistern, reached by steps from within the Mycenaean walls, the Perseia, but the remains of the more conspicuous fountain house make that unlikely to be correct.

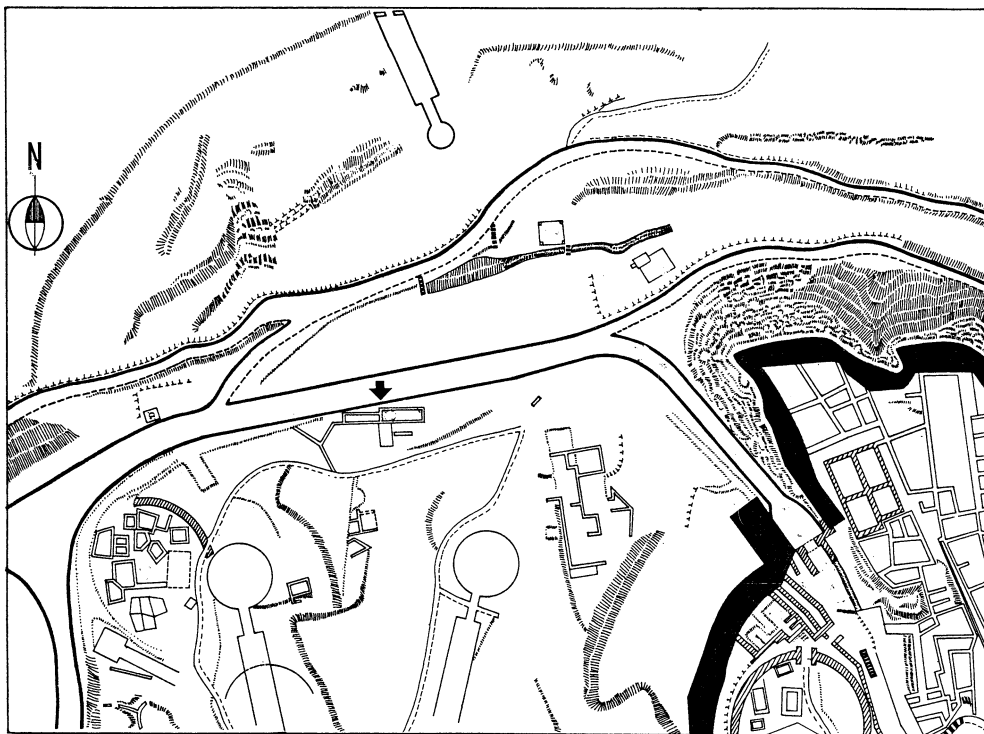


Fig. 2.1 Entrance to the citadel of Mycenae. The arrow marks the third-century BC fountain house. (After Mylonas 1976.)



Fig. 2.2 Inscription on a capping block; early fifth century BC. Epigraphical Museum, Athens. Photograph courtesy of TAP, Athens.

three fragments of writing, spiraling up another circular object, perhaps the base for a shaft that supported the capping block. These new pieces are painfully fragmentary and yield no continuous sense, but while the writing is certainly earlier than that on the capping block (e.g. *sampi*, Μ, for *sigma*, Σ), the subject of the two texts appears to be the same. It is virtually certain that the new inscription was the main text to which that on the capping block, Tsountas's inscription, was an addendum. We may suggest a date in the late sixth century BC for the main text and in the early fifth for the addendum. The text of the addendum and a translation are as follows:

αἱ μὲ δαμιουργία εἶε, τὸς ἱαρομνάμονας τὸς ἐς Πέρσε
το(ῖ)σι γονεῦσι κριτέρας ἔμεν κατ(τ)ὰ *φερρεμένα*

If there is no *damiorgia* (magistracy), the *iaromnamones* (recorders of sacred matters) for Perseus are to serve as *kriteres* (judges) for the parents, according to what has been decided.

Presumably, service as judges was the task of *damiourgoi*, a well-known Doric office, in the main text.⁷ The phrase κριτέρας ἔμεν (judges) also occurs in the main text, and δαμιουργοί can be restored at its beginning. The relationship of the two blocks and the nature of the monument to which it is reasonable to think they both belonged are problems that will be discussed elsewhere. It is sufficient to note two clues that suggest an association with water: the decoration around the outside of the capping block and the channel cut through it to hold a metal tube. It seems very likely that they were set up in an Archaic predecessor of the Hellenistic fountain house.⁸

The reference to parents in the addendum shows that we also have to do with children, most likely sons. The reference to acting as judges shows that disputes might occur, over either success in some contest or the achieving of some standard. That parents and high officials of the state were involved suggests that the issues affected membership in the community, i.e. the achieving of status as a citizen or in a hierarchy among the citizens. Since it is Perseus' cult officials who are to substitute for the *damiourgoi* (magistrates), Perseus would seem to be the patron of the institution whereby boys took their place in the Archaic community of Mycenae.

Can any of the familiar features of the Perseus myth be connected with the role of Perseus in Archaic Mycenae? The boy, who together with his mother had miraculously survived after being set adrift in the sea in a chest,

⁷ L. H. Jeffery, "Demiourgoi in the Archaic Period," *ArchCl* 25–6, 1973–4, 319–30;

C. Velgianni-Terzi, *Damiurgen: Zur Entwicklung einer Magistratur*, Diss. Heidelberg, 1977.

⁸ Cf. A. J. B. Wace in Holland and Hood 1953, 29.

grows up and is required by his mother's unwanted suitor, Polydectes, to bring him the Gorgon Medusa's head. He is helped by Athena and Hermes, and steals the single eye (or tooth and eye) of the two or three old female monsters, sisters of the Gorgons, known as the Graiae, who shared a tooth and eye among them. Their names, which vary in our sources, denote frightfulness.⁹ Perseus forces the Graiae to direct him to the Nymphs, from whom he receives the cap of darkness, the shoes of swiftness, and a pouch (κιβισίς). All the figures in this phase of his adventures live near the waters of Ocean, i.e., near the world of the dead. Perseus cuts off Medusa's head and uses it to kill a sea monster and rescue Andromeda, chained to a rock by the sea, whom he then marries. He goes on to turn his mother's unwanted suitor into stone with the Gorgon's head, and unintentionally, we are told, kills his grandfather Acrisius, who had set his ordeals in motion.¹⁰

Perseus can be seen as the model of the young man of folktale who undergoes ordeals, kills monsters, and wins a wife. Some, however, have detected in Perseus's exploits more than the innocent conquest of monsters. The Greek Gorgons, unlike the possible Near Eastern models or parallels such as Humbaba and Lamashutu, are always female. They have been seen as embodying the terrifying and dangerous side of female sexuality, a representation even of the female sexual parts.¹¹ This view, like the identification of the Gorgoneion as in origin a mask (discussed below), cannot be confirmed by textual or archaeological evidence. It is persuasive to the degree that it illuminates the images, stories, and institutions in Greece and elsewhere that make use of Gorgon-like figures.

⁹ The Graiae are called Pemphredo and Enyo in Hes. *Theog.* 270–4. A third, Deino, is named in Apollodorus (2.4.2.3). Pemphredon is the name of a wasp; Enyo is the name of a female spirit of war; Deino is sheer terror. Other names, Perso and Chersis, may suggest destruction and violence, cf. *πέσσω* (destroy), and *χέρω* (violence). For discussion of their names, see M. L. West, ed., *Hesiod: Theogony*, Oxford 1966, 245.

¹⁰ On the ancient sources for the Perseus story, see C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage I: Landschaftliche Sagen* (= L. Preller and C. Robert, *Die griechische Mythologie II: Die Heroen*), 4th edn, Berlin 1920, 222–45. The summary given above is essentially the version of Pherecydes of Athens, who wrote in the first half of the fifth century BC (*FGrH* 3 F 10–12) and is also found in the compilation of Apollodorus (2.4.1.1–4.5.1). Homer and Hesiod have much briefer allusions and it is a question how much of the later versions were known to them.

¹¹ See S. Freud, "Medusa's Head," 1922, repr. in J. Strachey, ed., *Collected Papers of Sigmund Freud*, London 1953, V:105–6; S. Ferenczi, "On the Symbolism of the Head of Medusa," 1923, repr. in *Further Contributions to the Theory and Techniques of Psycho-analysis*, London 1950, 360; P. E. Slater, *The Glory of Hera: Greek Mythology and the Greek Family*, Boston 1968, 17–18, 319–28. T. Feldman [= T. P. Howe], "Gorgo and the Origin of Fear," *Arion* 4, 1965, 484–94, took note of these ideas but saw the depiction of the dangerous female as a survival from a time of matriarchy. For a rich study of religion in Sri Lanka that uses but goes far beyond Freud's brief observation, see G. Obeyesekere, *Medusa's Hair: An Essay on Personal Symbols and Religious Experience*, Chicago 1981.

Perseus, in addition to confronting and mastering terrifying females, turns his potential stepfather to stone (= makes him impotent), and kills – accidentally – his grandfather. Parricide would be out for even the most Oedipal son of Zeus, but through displacement he is seen to destroy the two hostile father figures. Perseus is not inappropriate as the patron of a contest whereby boys show they are ready to leave the world of childhood and move towards manhood. Burkert, without reference to the Mycenae inscription, has seen the decapitation of the Gorgon as emblematic of a Greek initiation test.¹²

A second important observation is that the Greek Gorgon was in origin a frightening mask, worn by a dancer. Since this view was first propounded in the last century much more has been learned about early Greek masks, but there is still no early example of a mask in the form of a Gorgoneion of the type recognizable in art.¹³ The essential correctness of the interpretation is confirmed by rare but incontrovertible evidence for the use of frightening masks in early Archaic Greece, which show the general context, and by the widespread comparative evidence.¹⁴ The argument also draws support from the priority of the isolated head in poetry (Hom. *Od.* 11.633–5: Odysseus fears that Persephone may send a Gorgon's head). In early art both isolated heads and embodied Gorgons are found, as is the case in Near Eastern examples of equivalent monsters. Neither type appears in Greek art before the seventh century BC, i.e., not before the full flood of Near Eastern artistic influence on Greece.¹⁵ Distinctive local forms of such

¹² Burkert 1984, 82.

¹³ M. Mayer, "Mykenische Beiträge, II," *JDAI* 7, 1892, 200, put performances with Gorgon masks at Mycenae "im Kreise der Perseus-Burgen, wohl am Orte" (well in the circle of the Perseus citadel). Dedications of terracotta masks in the form of the familiar Gorgons are few and relatively late amidst the plentiful evidence at the Spartan sanctuary of Orthia so that, along with satyr masks, they must be seen as a secondary development. Other types of frightening masks may have had the same function as that posited for those of Gorgons and may even have been local versions of them, but they are not Gorgons of the usual type. See J. B. Carter, "The Masks of Orthia," *AJA* 91, 1987, 355–83, whose analysis in most respects replaces that of R. C. Bosanquet, "The Cult of Orthia as Illustrated by the Finds," *BSA* 12, 1905–6, 338–43, and G. Dickins, "Terracotta Masks," in R. M. Dawkins *et al.*, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies*, Suppl. Paper, 5, London 1929, 163–86. For the general significance of portrayals of monstrous faces, cf. J.-P. Vernant, *La mort dans les yeux: Figures de l'autre en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1985, and "Une divinité des marges: Artémis Orthia," in *Recherches sur les cultes grecs et l'occident*, vol. 2, Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard, 9, Naples 1984, 13–27, on masks, performances and contests in the Orthia cult (which came to my notice only after the completion of this paper).

¹⁴ Cf., e.g., A. D. Napier, *Masks, Transformation and Paradox*, Berkeley 1986.

¹⁵ On the date, cf. K. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagen- und Bildendarstellungen bei den Griechen*, Berlin 1969, 152–7. A fragment of a terracotta base with relief decoration in a Late Geometric context from Miletus shows an isolated pear-shaped head with serpentine locks,

masks were subsumed in a widespread Panhellenic representation developed under Oriental influence. However, although there are Near Eastern sources for individual elements in the iconography, no precise model can be indicated. The familiar Gorgoneion was developed in Greece.

As for the story of Perseus and the Gorgon, some elements, at least, were already in place before ca. 700 BC, to judge from Hesiod (*Theog.* 270–88). That Hesiod notes in only the most cursory fashion Medusa's offspring by Poseidon, *Chrysaor* (Goldsword), and Pegasus, at the moment of her beheading, shows that these figures were well established before Hesiod composed his poem. (Homeric silence at *Od.* 11.633–5 strikes me as neutral – it cannot be used to show that Perseus' adventures were known or unknown.) Whatever the origin of the Gorgons of the Perseus story, both they and the hero seem to have had a place in the Greek imagination before the seventh century BC, and thus before their appearance in art.

Little has survived from Geometric and even Archaic Mycenae. We must look elsewhere for the type of institutions and rites we have postulated as the context for the presence there of Perseus and the Gorgon. Only from a few parts of Greece is there information preserved on the tests and contests through which young people made the transition, in stages, into adulthood and thus into full membership of their communities. Whereas these *rites de passage* are usually regarded as required of all young males, it is worth remembering that, inasmuch as the rewards were highly valued, access to them was restricted. Where they survived, clearly even to enter upon them was a privilege restricted to an elite. Crete and Sparta are known to have long maintained archaic institutions. To these should be added the communities of the Argive plain, at least into the fifth century BC, for there too we have evidence of men's messes and a distinctive system of dependent labor supporting an aristocratic elite.¹⁶

large eyes and a beard: P. Hommel, "Die Ausgrabung beim Athena-Tempel," *IstMitt* 9–10, 1959–60, 56, and Pl. 56. It is evidence for familiarity with a frightening face or mask, not for an identifiable Gorgon; Hommel does not in fact refer to it as such. On the evolution of the Gorgon in art, in which Corinth played a major part, see A. Furtwängler, "Die Gorgonen in der Kunst," in *Ausführliches Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, vol. 1.2, Leipzig 1886–90, 1701–27; R. Hampe, "Korfugiebel und frühe Perseusbilder," *AthMitt* 60–1, 1935–6, 269–99; H. Besig, *Gorgo und Gorgoneion*, Diss. Berlin 1938; G. Riccioni, "Origini e sviluppo del gorgoneion e del mito della Gorgone-Medusa nell'arte greca," *RivIstArch* 9, 1960, 127–206; H. von Steuben, *Frühe Sagendarstellungen in Korinth und Athen*, Berlin 1968, 14–17, 111–12; Th. G. Karagiorga, *Γοργεῖν κεφαλὴ* (Gorgon Head) Athens 1970. There are Homeric references to the Gorgon's head as effective decoration on shields, *Il.* 5.738–9, 11.36–7.

¹⁶ For Argos, cf. M. Wörle, *Untersuchungen zur Verfassungsgeschichte von Argos im 5. Jahrhundert vor Christus*, Diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1964, 110–20. For Tiryns, see N. Verdelis, M. H. Jameson, and I. Papachristodoulou, "Ἀρχαῖκαί ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ Τίρυνθος," *ArchEph* 65, 1975,

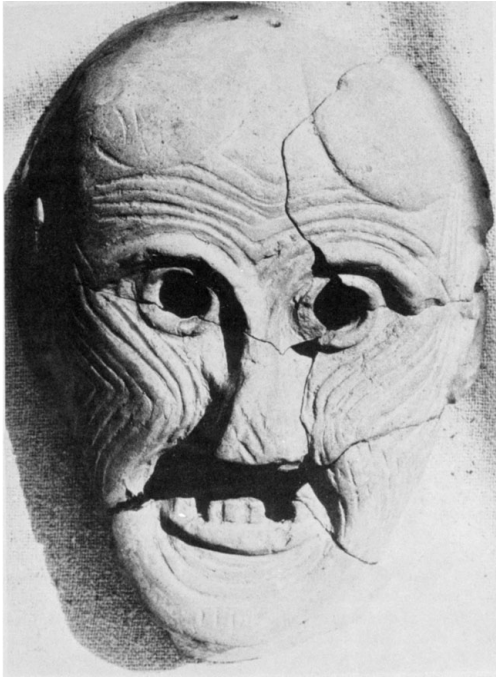


Fig. 2.3 Terracotta mask from the Ortheia Sanctuary; mid seventh century BC. Sparta Museum. Photograph by J. B. Carter.

The various Spartan initiation rites are the best known, although most of our direct evidence is late. We hear of a παιδικὸς ἀγών (youths' contest) at the shrine of the goddess Orthia, by a river rather than a spring. From the seventh century BC on, numerous dedications of terracotta masks have been found there. The largest number show grotesquely furrowed faces, usually taken to be old women (Fig. 2.3). There are also other types, interpreted as satyrs and Gorgons, some of which may be variants on the first (cf. Fig. 2.4). But most notably there is a contrasting handsome young man (Fig. 2.5), termed the hero in a valuable recent study by Jane Burr Carter, who has shown beyond a doubt the Near Eastern origins of these masks.¹⁷ Although

150–205, and R. Koerner, “Tiryns als Beispiel einer frühen dorischen Polis,” *Klio* 67, 1985, 452–7.

¹⁷ Carter 1987, especially 357–9, figs. 2–5; cf. Dickins in Dawkins 1929. Much less convincing is Carter’s view that the goddess Orthia is also of Near Eastern, specifically Phoenician, origin, and that her rites on the banks of the Eurotas were first performed by Phoenicians and included child sacrifice. Barnett 1961, 147, had spoken of the masks as brought to Sparta by Phoenicians. Without reference to the masks, L. Marangou, “Aristaios,” *AthMitt* 87, 1972, 77–83, identified



Fig. 2.4 Terracotta mask from the Ortheia Sanctuary; mid seventh century BC. Sparta Museum. Photograph by R. Hägg.



Fig. 2.5 Terracotta mask from the Ortheia Sanctuary; mid seventh century BC. Sparta Museum. Photograph by J. B. Carter.

the most common type of mask are often described as Gorgons, in terms of Greek storytelling they were rather the ancient hags, the Graiae, sisters of the Gorgons. Carter questions whether the furrowed faces represent women, in part because of the traces of face hair indicated on the chins of some. If anything, this reinforces the usual identification of them as old women; one can compare the representation of witches in the western European tradition. Gorgons too are often bearded. Sexual ambiguity has been taken to be an essential feature of such figures of fright.¹⁸ There are lexicographic references to males at Sparta putting on αἰσχρόα (shameful, ugly) female masks and singing hymns.¹⁹ Combining the archaeological and textual evidence, we can postulate performances in which maskers took the parts of frightful female creatures who were opposed by handsome young males. However much the Near East provided inspiration in image and in story, the native institutions of Laconia surely provided the occasion and the function for these performances.

The boys engaged in the contests held at the sanctuary of Orthia dedicated, when victorious, iron sickles fastened to the stone carrying the dedicatory inscription (Fig. 2.6).²⁰ This implement has been identified with the Spartan weapon known as the ξυήλη, described as a small sword or δρέπανον (sickle).²¹ One is reminded of the ἄρπη (sickle) used by Perseus to cut off the Gorgon's head (e.g. Pherecydes, *FGrH* 3 F 11; Apollod. 2.4.2). With a single exception, the seventh-century representations in art show a sword being used. The sickle, along with the winged sandals and other distinctive accoutrements, seems to come in after ca. 600.²² The Near Eastern

the hero as Aristaeus, whom she described as an agriculture daemon. J. B. Carter, "Masks and Poetry in Early Sparta," in *Early Greek Cult Practice*, *ActaAth* 4^o–38, Stockholm 1988, 89–98, has argued that the masks are to be connected with a ἱερωγάμια (sacred marriage) of Orthia.

¹⁸ Napier 1986, 89.

¹⁹ Hsch. s.v. Βρυδαλίχα and Βρυλλίχιστοι, discussed by Bosanquet 1905–6; A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*, Oxford 1927, 256, who saw some of the masks as representing old men; H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Curetes*, Lille 1939, 516; and Carter 1987, 356. Some of the references we have may, of course, be to corresponding girls' rites.

²⁰ A. M. Woodward, "Inscriptions," in Dawkins 1929: δρέπανον, 298, 4, δρεπάνη, 301, 5. The earliest dedication is dated to the fourth century BC, but most are from Roman times. J. Boardman, "Sickles and Strigils," *JHS* 91, 1971, 136, discusses the use of sickle-shaped blades as strigils.

²¹ Hsch. s.v.; K. M. T. Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta: A Reexamination of the Evidence*, New York 1952, 254, and Pl. 1, supported tentatively by A. Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi*, Rome 1969, 130, note 41, who appeals for help from the archaeologists. Hdt. 7.93 speaks of Carians armed with δρέπανα and daggers.

²² J. M. Woodward, *A Study in Greek Art and Legend*, Cambridge 1937, 27–31; K. Schauenburg, *Perseus in der Kunst des Altertums*, Bonn 1960, 12, 121; G. Beckel, *Götterbeistand in der bildlichen Überlieferung griechischer Heldensagen*, Waldsassen 1961, 38; M. J. Milne, "Review of



Fig. 2.6 Sickle dedicated to Artemis; fourth century BC. Sparta Museum.

background to the stories of triumph over monsters – and fathers – makes use of a sickle-like weapon.²³ West has noted its use in Near Eastern versions of the Succession myth and has described it as “the normal weapon in Greek mythology for the amputation of monsters.”²⁴ So in Hesiod, Gaea gives her son Cronus the ἄρπη with which he castrates his father. (The Freudian implications need not be underlined.) It becomes standard, however, in the iconography of Perseus later than the main influence of Near Eastern art (cf. Fig. 2.7). If the source is indeed in the East, it is arguable that it entered

Die Koenigstochter und die Ungeheuer by F. Brommer,” *AJA* 60, 1956, 301, who distinguishes the Greek sickle from the Near Eastern scimitar. In the sixth and fifth centuries, the curved implement takes various forms, as can be seen in the plates in Schauenburg and Woodward. A seventh-century example of a toothed sickle shown in use for the decapitation (while a sword and the κίβισις are slung over the hero’s shoulders) is on a bronze fragment from the Athenian Acropolis, Hampe 1935–6, 286, and Pl. 98.

²³ Cf. W. Hayes Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Washington, DC 1910, 163–6.

²⁴ West 1966 on *Theog.* 175. [In discussion of the present paper, I profited from the comments of A. Petropoulou and N. Marinatos.]

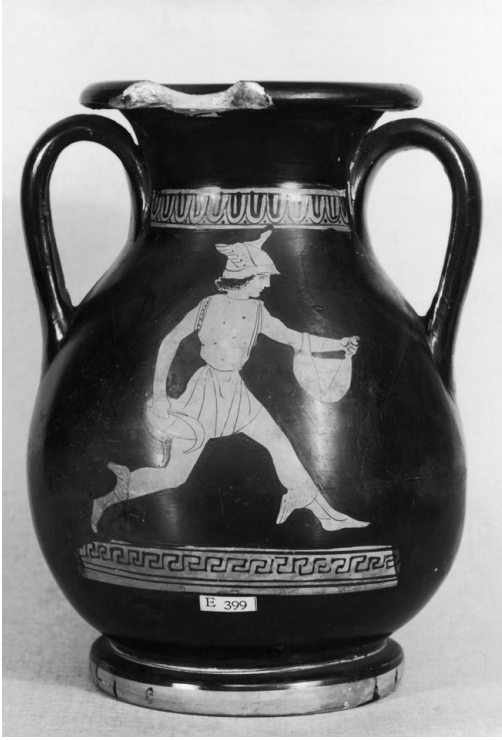


Fig. 2.7 Red-figure *pelike*; 440–430 BC. British Museum, London. Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

first into storytelling, certainly for Cronus and Heracles, perhaps for Perseus. A further step brought it into the representations of the Perseus story, perhaps as part of the spread of the *Märchen*-influenced *Perseis* postulated for ca. 650 BC.²⁵ The adoption of what became a familiar symbol of Perseus may have been affected by practices such as the use by boys of a sickle-like weapon at Sparta. The short, curved dagger is a most suitable weapon for a boy, even if he is not intent on castrating his father.

Another feature of Perseus's equipment is the pouch or knapsack, κιβισίς (Figs. 2.7 and 2.9). It is said by Hesychius, s.v., to be a Cypriot word; it was no doubt, therefore, Arcado-Cyprian in dialect and perhaps also Mycenaean. It may have entered myth on the mainland of Greece as early as

²⁵ N. Gialouris, "Pteroenta pedila," *BCH* 77, 1953, 293–321, argued strongly for such a poem, using the artistic evidence as well as the literary. Wilamowitz had doubted the existence of an archaic *Perseis* poem because the *Märchen* elements were so prominent in the surviving version (*Pindaros*, Berlin 1922, 148–150).



Fig. 2.8a–b Terracotta masks from Tiryns; seventh century BC. Nauplion Museum. Photographs courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute, Athens.

the Mycenaean period though surviving in the vernacular only on Cyprus. Ancient etymologies show that, when not used for carrying a Gorgon's head, it was thought to be a suitable pouch for carrying one's rations while moving rapidly (*Etym. Magn.* 512, 53–8). Was such a pouch the normal equipment for the boy sent out to live in the wild as part of his ordeal?²⁶

Closer to Mycenae, at Tiryns, hideous masks have also been found (Fig. 2.8). These are of the seventh century and have been identified as Gorgons though they differ from the standard depiction in art. Were it not for holes in the earlobes, presumably for earrings, the masks alone would not have been taken as representing female figures.²⁷ The users of the masks could have looked through the mouth openings. The deposit in which they were found is connected with the cult of a goddess, usually thought to be Hera because of her importance at Tiryns. From the same deposit came clay models of shields, one with a misunderstood Oriental scene upon

²⁶ On going out into the wild, see generally, Jeanmaire 1939, ch. 7; P. Vidal-Naquet, "The Black Hunter and the Origin of the Athenian *Ephebeia*," *PCPhS* 194, 1968, 49–64 (repr. in R. L. Gordon, ed., *Myth, Religion and Society, Structuralist Essays by M. Detienne, L. Gernet, J.-P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet*, Cambridge 1981, 147–62). Winged sandals or boots would no doubt also have been welcome, though not standard issue.

²⁷ G. Karo, *Greek Personality in Archaic Sculpture* (Martin Classical Lectures, 11), Cambridge, MA 1948, 33–5 and Pl. 3; P. Gercke, "Die Weihgeschenke aus dem Bothros," in U. Jantzen, ed., *Führer durch Tiryns*, Athens 1975, 160 and fig. 70 (cf. 159 on votives in the *bothros*); Napier 1986, 86, Pl. 34.

it.²⁸ The hero of Tiryns, it should be noted, was Heracles, who had a place in the cults of that city-state.²⁹ His name suggests that Hera was his patron, while his myths point in the opposite direction. As part of their rites of passage may we postulate, at Tiryns as well as at Sparta, performances at which boys were threatened by persons wearing the masks of terrifying creatures, who were in some respects at least female? No community is likely to have been closer in character to Archaic Tiryns than Mycenae and while no masks, and precious little else, have survived from its Archaic phase, the home of the Gorgon-slayer is very likely to have known similar ceremonies.

If we were to guess about the stage at which the Perseus myth was important for the young males of Mycenae, I would suggest the point at which they moved from childhood to adolescence, not from adolescence to adulthood. These are two of the principal points at which ceremonies are known to have taken place.³⁰ In the first the military aspects of the youths' preparation take second place to combatting terrors and monsters, essentially female, and, if the myth is relevant, perhaps also threatening adult male relatives. The first major step is the release from the female-dominated household, which has been perceptively if somewhat over-confidently analyzed by Philip Slater.³¹ The development of dramatic performances in Athens by and for ephebes, the next large age group, has been explored by Jack Winkler.³² Masks and play-acting were not, of course, limited to the ceremonies for pubescent boys. There was certainly a complex and varied development of dancing, the use of masks and the acting out of stories in various parts of Greece, which remains sadly obscure to us. What we have been considering is the simplest and perhaps at one time the most common form.

Even more widespread in boys' rites of passage with their agonistic character are likely to have been races of one sort or another. A foot-race has been detected in the Cretan initiations by R. F. Willetts.³³ At Sparta boys attempted to run the gauntlet to steal cheeses from an altar (Xen. *Lac.* 2.9).³⁴ The chase

²⁸ Cf. K. DeVries quoted by G. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls*, University of California Studies in Classical Archaeology 26, Berkeley 1986, 119, n. 156. This example shows both the degree of Oriental penetration and its limits.

²⁹ Cf. Verdelis *et al.* 1975, 182, no. 15.

³⁰ The very first is the recognition of the child soon after birth. See the useful discussion by S. G. Cole, "The Social Functions of Rituals of Maturation: The Koureion and the Arkteia," *ZPE* 55, 1984, 233–44.

³¹ Slater 1968.

³² J. Winkler, "The Ephebes' Song: *Tragoidia* and *Polis*," *Representations* 11, 1985, 26–62.

³³ R. F. Willetts, *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete*, London 1955, 12–23.

³⁴ H. J. Rose, "The Cult of Artemis Orthia," in Dawkins 1929, 405; Jeanmaire 1939, 516.



Fig. 2.9 Detail of black-figure hydria; ca. 560–550 BC. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Photograph courtesy of the museum.

by the Gorgons is the most popular part of the story in Archaic art. Perseus with his shoes of swiftness is, indeed, a great racer who outdistances the pursuing Gorgons, *Stheno* (Strength) and *Euryale* (Wide-leap) (Fig. 2.9). It is an unheroic but appealing scene.

At Mycenae the connection of Perseus with the spring remains the surest feature of his cult. The ephebes of Dreros on Crete in the Hellenistic period include the springs and the rivers among the divinities they call to witness their oath.³⁵ Initiation rites, with purification by water and dances witnessed by an audience, have been suggested at Corinth's Sacred Spring under the patronage of a possible nymph Cotyto.³⁶ In general, the Nymphs, the most common spirits of springs, are kindly to the young (e.g., Eur. *El.* 625–6). Beneficent female figures are also associated with the young men

³⁵ E. Schwyzler, *Dialectorum Graecarum Exempla Epigraphica Potiora* (= *Delectus*³), Leipzig 1923, no. 193, 34 = IC ix.1.c. On water and initiation, see Jeanmaire 1939, 324–37.

³⁶ C. K. Williams II, *Pre-Roman Cults in the Area of the Forum of Ancient Corinth*, Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1978, Ch. 6, "The Sanctuary of the Sacred Spring"; A. Steiner, "Private and Civic Cult at Corinth," *AJA* 92, 1988, 268.

who undergo initiation in Athens, such as Aglauros, in whose precinct the ephebes took their oath and whose name comes first in their list of divine witnesses.³⁷ The names of Aglauros' sisters, Pandrosos and Herse, evoke dew and moisture. Enyo, a Graia in the *Theogony*, but here a war-goddess, and Enyalios, come early in the list.

For the Spartans, the dominant figure was Orthia, who came to be identified with the *κουροτρόφος* (nurse) par excellence, Artemis. For the Corinthians, Cotyto at the Sacred Spring has been suggested. One expects a female divinity at the Perseia of Mycenae as well. A late Archaic boundary stone of Hera was found in the excavation of the Perseia.³⁸ We recall that the local hero of Tiryns, Heracles, may have been associated in cult with Hera and that masks were dedicated in what was probably her shrine. If another son of Zeus was associated with her at Mycenae, that link did not enter into Panhellenic mythology.³⁹

A lesser figure, or figures intimately connected with the waters of the spring, might also be expected. In the usual myth, prior to variations produced by the interest of Attic dramatists, Perseus obtains his necessary accoutrements not from the Graiae directly but from the Nymphs whose whereabouts he forces the Graiae to reveal.⁴⁰ They give him what he needs, willingly it seems. The Nymphs' role seems superfluous, though folktale, to be sure, is fond of such sequences.⁴¹ They represent the kindly females who help the hero on his way to the confrontation with Medusa, after he has mastered one group of hostile women, the sisters of the Gorgons.⁴² This took place by the springs (*πηγαί*) of Ocean, whence Pegasus' name (Hes. *Theog.* 282). Recurring allusions to the sea in ceremonies associated with

³⁷ Tod, vol. 2, Oxford 1948, no. 110; G. Daux, "Le serment des éphèbes Athéniens," *RÉG* 84, 1971, 370–83; P. Siewert, "The Ephebic Oath in Fifth-century Athens," *JHS* 97, 1977, 102–11.

³⁸ A. G. Woodhead in Holland and Hood 1953, 27–9. The form *hepaia* is taken by Woodhead to be an otherwise unattested variation of *hēpa*. Perhaps the springhouse was divided in two parts, assigned to Perseus and Hera, i.e. the Perseia and the Heraia.

³⁹ But see Schauenburg 1960, 14. B. Sparkes, "Black Perseus," *AntK* 11, 1968, 12, supposed that Athena's involvement with Perseus, first represented in the amphora of the Polyphemos Painter from Eleusis (Schauenburg, Pl. 7), was due to Athenian interest. S. P. Morris, *The Black and White Style*, New Haven 1984, 44, more plausibly sees epic influence. Athena was at home at Mycenae too (cf. *IG* iv 492), and the Archaic and Hellenistic temples on the citadel have been assigned to her (Wace 1949, 24, 86).

⁴⁰ Pherecydes, *FGrH* 3 F 11. Cf. J. H. Oakley, "Perseus, the Graiai, and Aeschylus' *Phorkides*," *AJA* 92, 1988, 383–91, especially 388.

⁴¹ Cf. Jacoby on Pherecydes, *FGrH* 3 F 11.

⁴² In art they are represented rarely: an unpublished black-figure fragment in Athens (mentioned by Oakley 1988, 388) and a Chalcidian amphora in London (British Museum B 155), J. M. Woodward 1937, 48, fig. 12a and A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, Berlin 1927, Pl. 15 and fig. 2. On the latter they are labelled *Neides*.

rites of passage have been noted by Jeanmaire.⁴³ Two figures are suggestive: Andromeda is rescued from a sea monster by Perseus.⁴⁴ The masculine echoes of her name might indicate a connection with the rites we have postulated for the spring of Perseus. Or should we look to a local form of the Pylian female divinity Perse (or *Preswa*) as the spirit of the Perseia, who perhaps survived as Perse, the daughter of Oceanus and wife of Helios (*Od.* 10.139)?⁴⁵

How much of the Perseus story and cult can be taken back to the Bronze Age? The *-eus* ending is characteristic of Greek personal names of that era and survived largely for figures of myth and cult.⁴⁶ Martin Nilsson had no doubts about the Mycenaean origin of Perseus.⁴⁷ But aside from the *form* of the name (etymology is no help), and the connection with the site of Mycenae, there is little to go on.⁴⁸ T. P. Howe, rightly rejecting Nilsson's certainty, was no more justified in insisting on the relatively late appearance of Perseus and the Gorgon because they are not found in art before the seventh century.⁴⁹ The repertoire of Geometric iconography is relatively limited, and the Oriental connections of the story need not have waited for the Orientalizing period of art. At Mycenae, however, Perseus is a figure tied to the Archaic polis' institutions of initiation into adulthood and citizenship, if we have interpreted the evidence correctly. The question is whether corresponding practices and institutions existed in the very different world of the Late Bronze Age palace culture. Robert Koehl has made a case for their existence in Bronze Age Crete and for their contribution to institutions of Dorian Crete.⁵⁰ We know of no evidence for a comparable development in the Argolid.⁵¹

⁴³ Jeanmaire 1939, 324–37.

⁴⁴ S. Morenz claimed Egyptian origins for the story: "Die orientalische herkunft der Perseus-Andromeda-sage," *FuF* 36, 307–9.

⁴⁵ Pylos Tn3 16: M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 2nd edn, Cambridge 1973, 387, 463.

⁴⁶ J.-L. Perpillou, *Les substantifs grecs en -eus*, Paris 1973, esp. 223.

⁴⁷ M. P. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, Berkeley 1932, 40–2.

⁴⁸ The hero's name is commonly referred to $\pi\epsilon\rho\theta\omega$ (destroy), and while this may be relevant for Perso, one of the Graiae, Wilamowitz 1922 voiced scepticism and saw rather a connection with the very likely non-Indo-European Persephone. One could compare the Pylian figure *Preswa* or *Persa*; see Ventris and Chadwick, 1973. Barnett 1961, 149, suggested a connection with the Hittite god of war, Pirwa. However, the use of the name for the innocuous son of Nestor (*Od.* 3.414 and 444) suggests that it was in origin a vaguely complimentary, heroic name without sinister connotations. Comments on various theories in Perpillou 1973, 223, 231, and 240.

⁴⁹ T. P. Howe, "The Origin and Function of the Gorgon-head," *AJA* 58, 1954, 209–21.

⁵⁰ R. B. Koehl, "The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan Rite of Passage," *JHS* 106, 1986, 99–110.

⁵¹ Late Geometric and Archaic Mycenae showed considerable interest in the sites of Late Bronze Age burials. The beginning of cult at them and at new sites such as the Agamemnoneion has

Springs, however, retain their value and their religious aura, and through the local people who may have survived the troubles of the twelfth and eleventh century BC, the name and perhaps some of the stories associated with the spring could have been passed on to the new settlers who adapted them to their own purposes.

The suggestions offered here do not argue that the rites at Dark Age and Archaic Mycenae inspired the myth, nor on the other hand that Near Eastern or indigenous stories and Near Eastern artistic motifs or even Near Eastern rites inspired local practices. Rather, a local institution, probably in a form common to a number of communities of the Argeia, involved contests and dances in honor of a local hero, whose struggles with monsters were enacted by maskers. His story was equated with and elaborated from tales from elsewhere in the Aegean and the Near East. In time the name of the local hero and some features of the local performances may have influenced the form the stories took in the Greek world.

I conclude with some comments on the use by the victorious Argives of the legacy of Perseus. In the second century AD the “honors of Heracles and Perseus,” the expropriated heroes of Tiryns and Mycenae, could be voted to those whom the city wished to show respect (*IG* iv, 606, cf. 586). Coins were issued showing Perseus wielding the ἄρπη (sickle).⁵² Pausanias in the same period describes a group of monuments at Argos which are likely to have had a long history: in the agora the head of Medusa was buried in a mound of earth (2.21.5); alongside of it was the grave of Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus (2.21.6); at the right of the entrance to the agora was a shrine of Cephissus, the river god, where water once flowed, though it was now underground (2.20.6); alongside it was a stone head of Medusa, probably large and perhaps crude, since it was attributed to the Cyclopes; behind these was a place known as the κριτήριον (tribunal) where Hypermestra was judged by Danaos (2.20.7). A terrace with the remains of a small rectangular building was excavated and identified with the κριτήριον by W. Vollgraff.⁵³ On blocks of the terrace wall were cut two dedications to the Epitélides,

been attributed in part to the spread of knowledge of the Trojan cycle: J. N. Coldstream, “Hero-cults in the Age of Homer,” *JHS* 96, 1976, 9. For the cult of Agamemnon, J. M. Cook, “The Agamemnoneion,” *BSA* 48, 1953, 30–58. The finds include an early black-figure krater fragment, which Cook thinks may be of Argive workmanship, showing a winged, running Gorgon, in no way distinctive. An early fifth-century graffito (*IG* iv 495; Jeffery 1961, 174, note 6), reading το ἡερος εμ, was found in the fill above Grave Circle A by Schliemann 1878, 129.

⁵² F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, “Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias: Megarica, Corinthiaca,” *JHS* 6, 1885, 84, Pl. 1, 18; J. M. Woodward 1937, 17.

⁵³ W. Vollgraff, “Fouilles et sondages sur le flanc oriental de la Larissa,” *BCH* 82, 1958, 516–70.

whom Vollgraff interpreted as figures who exacted justice. Above the terrace were the remains of a Nymphaeum of Roman date from which water was distributed to the town. The conjunction of water (the shrine of Cephissus and possibly a predecessor of the Nymphaeum), the Medusa head and the κριτήριο makes us wonder if these are traces of a pattern comparable to that of the shrine of Perseus, the Perseia fountain and the activity of the κριτέρας (judges) in Archaic Mycenae. But we can do no more than wonder.

In the last phase of settlement at Mycenae itself, in the Hellenistic period, we find a possible revival of the old institutions. Ca. 195 BC the κώμη (village) of Mycenae, a subdivision of the polis of Argos, honored a Cretan for his help in returning a group of ephebes who had been kidnapped by the Spartan king Nabis (*IG* iv, 497 = *SIG*³ 594). It seems remarkable that a κώμη in the Hellenistic period retained its own ἐφηβεία. Can it be that Argos encouraged those of its citizens who lived off the land of the former Mycenaean territory to revive old cults and traditions for the sake of their prestige and aura of antiquity, even as they undertook the rebuilding of the Agamemnoneion?⁵⁴

⁵⁴ J. M. Cook 1953.

The Abbé Michel Fourmont in the course of his travels in Greece (1729–30) copied the text of an inscription he was shown in the church of Agia Soteira tou Kotake, on what is now the north side of Kydathenaion St., between Kodros and Soter Streets in Athens. The church has been rebuilt since then and the stone bearing the inscription has disappeared. A text was first published by A. Böckh in the first edition of *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener* in 1817, and most recently as *IG i² 79*. For the third edition of the latter volume, I was asked by the editor, Dr. D. M. Lewis, to prepare texts for a number of Attic inscriptions concerned with cult matters, including that of the lost inscription, which will appear as *IG i³ 138*. I take the happy occasion of the inauguration of a new scholarly journal at the University of Athens to discuss the interpretation of this text in greater detail than is possible in the format of a corpus and to comment on the cult to which it belongs. I have to thank Dr. Lewis for permission to reproduce the text of *IG i³ 138* and for much good advice while I was preparing it, but he is not, of course, responsible for the discussion and interpretation that follows.

IG i³ 138 (i 79, i² 79). *Editio prima* A. Böckh, *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, vol. 2, Berlin 1817, Taf. i, iv, 181, 206–12, and again in *CIG* 80. A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde (Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien)* 7, 1909, 248 pointed out the *stoichedon* character of the text. The text in *IG i² 79* is the work of U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf and F. Hiller v. Gaertringen (hereafter W-H) with contributions by Kirchner and Wilhelm. See also Hiller in *SitzBer* 1919, 667–9; R. Schlaifer, “Notes on Athenian public cults,” *HSCP* 51, 1940, 235–6; B. D. Meritt, *Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple*, University of Cincinnati Classical Studies 1, Cincinnati 1967, 124, no. 34 (*SEG* XXI 41); B. Jordan, *The Athenian Navy in the Classical Period*, University of California Classical Studies 13, 1975, 206–8; W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, vol. 3, Berkeley 1979, 324–6. The left margin was preserved. The alphabet was Attic. The dot under a letter in the text printed below indicates that Fourmont read a different letter in that space.

[... .. 23 χσυμβάλλεσθαι δὲ τ]-
 [ὀ]<ς> h<i>ππ[έ]ας δ[ύο δρ]αχμ<ᾱ κα>ι <τ>ὸς [ἠοπλίτας δραχμὲν]
 καὶ τὸς τοχσότας τὸς τε ἄστ[ὸς καὶ τὸς χσένος τρ]-
 ἐς ὀβο<λ>ὸς τὸ ἐνια[υτ]ὸ ἀπὸ τῶ[ν καθ' ἐκάστος μισθὸν].
 ἐκπραττόντων δὲ οἱ δέμαρ[χοι παρὰ ἀπάντων τῶν] 5
 ἐς τὸ λεχσιαρχικὸν γρ<α>μματ[εῖον γραφέντων, οἱ δ]-
 [ἐ] <τ>όχσαρχοι παρὰ τῶν τοχσο<τ>[ὸν· ἐὰν δέ τινες μὲ ἀπ]-
 οδιδοσι, ἐκπράττ<ε>ν καὶ [τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱ τὸς μισθὸς ἀ]-
 ποδιδόασιν παρὰ τούτων ἐκ [τῶν μισθῶν. ἡ δὲ βολεῖ]
 ἡ ἀεὶ βολεύουσα σφῶν αὐτῶν [ἡαίρεσθω ταμίαι δύο ἅ]- 10
 νδρε τὸ ἀρ<γ>υ[ρί]ο τὸ Ἀπόλλων[ος ὅταν τὸς τῶν τῆς Με]-
 τρὸς χρημάτων αἰρέται· το[ύτοι]ν δὲ ἐς θόλον ἐλθὼ]-
 ντοιν παραδιδόντων ἡο<ι> τε [δέμαρχοι καὶ οἱ τόχο]-
 αρχοι καὶ <h>οι πρυτάνες ἡὸ ἄν [ἐκπράττοσι ἀργύρι]-
 ον. τ<ῶ> δὲ ταμίαι μετὰ [τῶ] <h>ι<ε>[ρέος τὸ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τε]- 15
 μένος τὸ Ἀπόλλωνο[ς ἐπιμελέσθων, ὅπως ἂν κάλλισ]-
 τα θεραπεύ<ε>ται καὶ [...].εὐ[... .. 17]
 νεὶ· χρηματίζειν δὲ αὐτοῖ[ς] ὅταμπερ πρότον ἐβόλε]
 καθέται πρότοι<ς με>[τὰ τὰ ἱερὰ 14]
 ----- 20

Line 1: I restore after W. S. Ferguson, “Orgeonika,” *Commemorative Studies in Honor of T. L. Shear*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 8, 1949, 144, [note 3](#), who compared *IG* i³ 130, 4 (i² 128). Kirchner had proposed καταβάλλεν δὲ τὸ] |ς ἡππ[έ]ας. Line 2: Fourmont read.ΕΗΠΠ.ΑΔ...ΛΧΜΕ || ΝΟΣ which Böckh restored as δ[έ δρ]αχμὲν, Kirchhoff adding τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀπὸ τ. I modify W-H’s δ[ιδρ]αχμ[ο]ν τὸς [δὲ ἠοπλίτας δραχμὲν] since the two-drachmae coin was not in use at this time. M. N. Tod, *Numismatic Chronicle* 1960, 10–11; C. Starr, *Athenian Coinage*, 480–449, Oxford 1970, 56, 70. Line 3: ἄστ[ὸς καὶ χσένος K. Wernicke, “Die Polizeiwache auf der Berg von Athen,” *Hermes* 26, 1891, 73–4, after Böckh’s ἄστ[ικὸς καὶ χσενικὸς. Lines 4–6: The restorations are mine, following Kirchner. Line 4: Fourmont read /ΕΣΟΒΟΖ. Kirchner proposed τοῦ[ἡομολεγεμένο μισθοῦ]. Lines 5–6: Hiller restored παρὰ τῶν δεμοτῶν (τῶν) /... ..γραφέντων; Meritt παρὰ τῶν ἄλλον οἱ /... ἐγράφεσαν. Line 7: Böckh corrected Fourmont’s initial P and final Σ to T. The restoration is by W-H. Line 8: Fourmont read ΕΚΠΡΑΤ- ΤΟΝΚΑΙ which Kirchhoff corrected in *IG* i 79. I have suggested [τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱ κτλ. or [τὸς αὐτὸς οἱ]. W-H: ἐκπραττόντων οἱ ταμίαι οἱ κτλ. Lines 9–11: W-H after Böckh. For ὅταν τὸς perhaps ὅταμπερ or καθάπερ. Böckh restored Δέμε] /τρος. We know nothing of treasurers of either god, but moneys of ἡ Μήτηρ ἐν Ἄγρας appear in the records of the Treasurers of the Other Gods (*IG* i³ 383, 50; i² 310, 132) and of the Logistai (i³ 369, 96; i² 324). Line 11:

ΑΠΑΥ. corrected by Böckh. Lines 12–13: το[ὑτοιν δὲ (W-H) . . . Παρό]||ντοιν Kirchhoff (*IG* i 79). It is not the presence of the treasurers when money is being paid over to them that needs to be specified, but their presence at a particular place or, possibly, time. I have suggested ἐς θόλον or ἐλ Λυκείο (cf. *IG* i³ 105, 34; i² 114), and one might add ἐς πόλιν, ἐλθό]||ντοιν. Line 13: Fourmont HOTTTE., corrected by Böckh; the rest W-H. Line 14: I suggest ἐκπράττοσι or ἐκπράχσοσι; λαμβάνουσιν ἀργύριον W-H. Line 15:/ONTAΔΕ, corrected by Böckh. At the end, ΕΙΣ . . ., corrected and restored by W-H who, however, were unhappy with the repetition of the god's name. Perhaps therefore μετὰ τ[ῶν] ||ἡε [ροποιῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, or [τῶ].^v ||ε[ροποιῶν or [τῶν ἐ]πισ[τατῶν τοῦ Λυκείου. Lines 16–17: Restored by W-H (Fourmont read ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΣΤΑΙ); cf. *Syll.*³ 1106, 47–9 (Kos, ca. 300 BC; *LSCG* 177), *IG* ii² 1329, 8–9 (*Syll.*³ 1102). Lines 17–18: perhaps [ἐπισκ]ε[υ]άζεται followed by a phrase such as ἐάν τι δ]||έει, or ὅταν τι δ]||έει, but a precise restoration for the last 13 spaces eludes me; [φυτ]εύ[εται, cf. [Plut.] *X Orat.* 841c, needs also to be considered. Line 19: ΚΗΙ at the end corrected and restored by W. von Hartel, *Studien über Attisches Staatsrecht und Urkundenwesen*, Vienna 1878, 185.

Summary of the decree

A tax is imposed by the Athenian assembly on the land forces of Athens at the rate of two drachmae per year for *hippeis* (knights), one for *hoplitai* (infantry – restored but inescapable), and three obols for archers, both citizen and foreign (the latter once again restored but necessary). Collection for those inscribed in the *lexiarchikon grammateion* (the deme register) is the responsibility of the *demarchoi* (deme-mayors), for the archers that of the *toxarchoi* (archer-captains). Failure to pay will result in withholding the sum from the soldiers' pay by the appropriate paymasters. Two treasurers for the money of Apollo (who thus is seen to be the recipient of the tax) are to be chosen from the membership of the *boule* (council) by the *boule*; a comparison with the time or method of appointment is made with the treasurers of the Mother, probably the Mother ex Agras (from Agrai). The money is to be handed over to the treasurers by the *demarchoi*, *toxarchoi*, and *prytanes* (council-steering committee), the last presumably as witnesses of the transaction. The treasurers, together with the priest (or *hieropoioi* ? temple-officials) of Apollo are to concern themselves with the maintenance of Apollo's *temenos* (precinct), no doubt from the proceeds of the tax. The god's financial affairs are given priority in the *boule's* schedule.

Date

Fourmont evidently did not see a three-barred sigma or tailed rho (an angular rho at the end of line 4 was thought by Böckh to be a slip). The decree then is not likely to be earlier than the second half of the fifth century, but the existence of independent treasurers of Apollo, and probably of the Mother, point to a date before the creation of the Treasurers of the Other Gods in the first Callias decree of 434/3 BC.¹ Since the contributors are the armed forces of Athens that fight on land and since their pay can be withheld to satisfy the obligatory contribution, one looks to a time when *misthos* (pay) would be paid regularly and perhaps in sufficient quantity to make the tax significant. The date of the introduction of pay for the land forces is not known but it is generally agreed that it was in effect before the Peloponnesian War and very likely by the time of the Samian revolt of 440/39 BC.²

The sizable mobilization for that fighting furnishes a reasonable occasion for this decree, unless it was passed a few years earlier as a direct consequence of the organization of regular cavalry and archer corps when the Thirty Years Peace was made in 446 BC (see notes 6 and 16 below).

The contributors

The definition of those who are to pay the tax is by their military service – cavalry, hoplites, and archers – and not, it should be noted, by the Solonian *tele* (property classes). Thus a poor hoplite who might not be able to qualify in terms of property as a *zeugites* (yeoman) but who nonetheless served in the ranks of the heavy-armed, such as Socrates, would be expected to pay. On the other hand, a member of the top three *tele* who was unable to serve as a hoplite by reason of infirmity would not.³ The only light-armed troops required to pay are the archers. In the *Peloponnesian War* *psiloi* (light-armed troops) are mentioned not infrequently, but Thucydides says that they were not an organized element of the army.⁴ I take this to be a significant clue to the character of the contributors.

¹ IG i³ 52, i² 91; ML 58; F. Hiller v. Gaertringen placed IG i² 79 among the decrees from the decade 431–421.

² W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, vol. 1, Berkeley 1971, 3–14.

³ Cf. A. W. Gomme, “The Population of Athens Again,” *JHS* 79, 1959, 67.

⁴ Thuc. 2.13.8, 4.94.1 with Gomme’s comments in *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, Oxford 1945, and his remarks in vol. 1, 14–15. Cf. also H. Pleket, “Review of D. W. Bradeen, *Agora XVII: Inscriptions – The Funerary Monuments*,” *Mnemosyne* 30, 1977, 210.

Archers, citizen and foreign, are to be expected in the Athenian army even before the Peloponnesian War in view of the references to them in the course of the war, beginning with the first year, and their appearance in casualty lists.⁵ Three hundred Scythian archers were purchased after the making of the Thirty Years Peace and in the course of the peace the corps of archers was increased to 1,200, according to Andocides 3.5 (= Aeschin. 2.173); there were 1600 in 431 BC according to Thucydides (2.13.8).⁶ The foreign archers in our text may have included both Scythian policemen and mercenaries.⁷

Horse archers, *hippotoxotai*, are also mentioned in 431 and again in 416 and are also thought to have been organized between 445 and 431 BC.⁸ The single *hippotoxotes* found in the casualty lists comes immediately after a group of *barbaroi toxotai* (foreign archers) and is therefore taken to be a foreigner as well.⁹ Aside from the fact that they were clearly regarded as inferior to proper *hippeis* (Xen. *Mem.* 3.3.1, [Lys.] 15.6), most of what is said about them is speculation. I do not see how we can tell whether they had been organized at the time of our decree and if so, whether they would have been classed with the cavalry or archers for the purposes of the tax.

⁵ E.g., Thuc. 2.13.8, with Gomme's 1945 comments. For *toxotai* in casualty lists: *IG* i³ 1147, 67, i² 929, ML 33 (460–459 BC); *IG* i³ 1184, 79, i² 949 (423 BC; cf. D. W. Bradeen, "The Athenian Casualty Lists," *CQ* 19, 1969, 155–6). Bradeen 1969, 149 regarded these as foreigners because of their position in the lists. But what then is the distinction between the *toxotai* and the *xenoi* of *IG* i³ 1184, 89–95? Are the latter hoplites? *Barbaroi toxotai* are found explicitly in *IG* i³ 1190, 136–7, i² 950 (Decelian war); *IG* i³ 1180, 26–7, i² 944, D. W. Bradeen, *Agora XVII: Inscriptions – The Funerary Monuments*, Princeton 1974, 17 (431 or earlier? A new fragment is to be discussed by C. Clairmont); *IG* i³ 1192, 152–3, Bradeen 1974, 22 (Decelian war); cf. *IG* i³ 1172, 35, Bradeen 1974, 14 (later than mid-fifth century BC). Citizen archers from the prytanizing *phyle* are mentioned in *IG* i³ 45, 15, i² 44 (ca. 445 BC). A *toxarchos* is a casualty in *IG* i³ 1186 Fr. B, col. 3, 2 (E. Mastrokostas, "Ἡ στήλη των ἐν Σικελίᾳ πρεσόντων," *ArchEph* 1955, 180–202; *SEG* XIX, 42; associated with the Sicilian expedition).

⁶ Cf. A. Plassart, "Les archers d'Athènes," *RÉG* 26, 1913, 189, 197.

⁷ M. Clerc, "Les Métèques athéniens," *BÉFAR* 64, 1893, 58; O. Lippelt, *Die griechischen Leichtbewaffneten bis auf Alexander den Grossen*, Diss. Jena, 1910, 37–8; M. F. Vos, "Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase-Painting," *Archaeologica Traiectina*, vol. 6, Groningen 1963, 68–9. D. B. Meritt (*Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple*, University of Cincinnati Classical Studies I, Cincinnati 1967, 124) and I (in "The Provision for Mobilization in the Decree of Themistokles," *Historia* 12, 1963, 400) were wrong to imply that the foreign archers were all policemen. Opinion is divided as to whether the slaves as opposed to the mercenaries were used in war. B. Jordan, in *The Athenian Navy in the Classical Period: A Study of Athenian Naval Administration and Military Organization in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC*, University of California Classical Studies 13, Berkeley 1975, 207 believes that the *astoi* here refer to both citizen *thetes* and *metoikoi* while the *xenoi* are foreign mercenaries, chiefly barbarians. The references he cites do not, to my mind, support his view of *astoi* as a "quasi-technical term" in this sense. See also D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic*, *PCPhS*, Supp. 4, 1977, 60–1.

⁸ Thuc. 2.13.8, 5.84.1. J. K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, Berkeley 1961, 131. Clerc 1893, 57–8.

⁹ *IG* i³ 1192, 158, Bradeen 1974, 22 (Decelian war), Bradeen 1969, 149.

The word *hoplitās* has been entirely restored, as has their one-drachma tax, but between cavalry and archers I see no other possibility and a sum between that paid by the other two categories is most probable. In their number would certainly have been the Athenian citizen hoplites *ek katalogou* (on the list), but there are two other groups whose presence is more problematic. First are the heavy-armed men assigned to ships, the *epibatai*, who under normal circumstances seem to have been *thetes* (the lowest property class), cf. Thuc. 6.43 for the contrast with the regular hoplites. There is no question that they served in the armed forces of Athens at the time of this decree. The issue is rather whether they had a relationship to Apollo and his *temenos* comparable to that of the other troops. *Toxotai* are used on land and sea but *epibatai*, as such, are always assigned to ships. If we take as our working hypothesis that we have to do only with the land forces, then the *epibatai* will not be included. Once the cult and sanctuary have been identified I think this assumption will be seen to be correct. I do not assume that the *thetes* did not appear on the deme registers and do not therefore use that criterion to determine whether they were included among the tax-payers.

Citizen status is not a criterion for inclusion in the group of contributors, and non-citizens might therefore have been expected in other categories in addition to archers. In the third quarter of the fifth century mercenary cavalry and hoplites are not certainly attested for Athens but resident aliens, metics, have been more commonly thought of as serving regularly. At the beginning of the war Thucydides refers to metic hoplites in a way that suggests nothing out of the ordinary in their service.¹⁰ They may have been used primarily in defending the territory of Attica, but this in itself need not have affected their role as contributors to Apollo.¹¹ Even reserve hoplites fighting in ranks would need more organization and training than the light-armed. However, if they were contributors they would have to be inscribed in the *lexiarchikon grammateion*, the deme registers, since they would not be under the *toxarchoi*. In the fourth century metics are known to have been registered in the demes of their residence and this registration served as the

¹⁰ Thuc. 2.13.6–7, 31.1–2. Cf. Whitehead 1977, 82. Bradeen (1969, 150, following G. E. Smith, “Athenian Casualty Lists,” *CPh* 14, 1919, 358–9) has argued that the *xenoi* rubric in the casualty lists does not refer to allies, who were usually on separate *stelai* and only occasionally added to Athenian inscriptions. Mercenaries were possible, but he preferred metics. Cf. *IG* i³ 1180, 5, i² 944, Bradeen 1974, 17 (431 BC or earlier); *IG* i³ 1184, 89, i² 949 (423 BC). The *engraphoi* of *IG* i³ 1184, 76 now appear to be illusory: D. W. Bradeen and D. M. Lewis, “Notes on Athenian Casualty Lists,” *ZPE* 36, 1979, 244.

¹¹ Whitehead 1977, 83, Clerc 1893, 48–51, Gomme 1959, 62–3, disagreeing with A. H. M. Jones, *Athenian Democracy*, Oxford 1957, 164.

basis of their being called up for service.¹² Majority opinion has supposed that the metic lists were separate from the *lexiarchikon grammateion* of citizens.¹³ Our inscription might be taken to show that they were found by this time on the same register, or, if not, that the distinction was too trivial to be specified in the decree. Only one register is ever ascribed to the demes (usually referred to in the singular, as here even when all the official deme registers are meant) and it is always called the *lexiarchikon grammateion*, or, in one classical source, *koinon grammateion* (common register).¹⁴ As the *demarchos* had to record a variety of information it is arguable that here *lexiarchikon grammateion* refers to all the registers the *demarchoi* care for. But, in the last analysis, the term so consistently carries connotations of deme membership and hence citizenship, that it is safer to conclude that, like citizen *psiloi*, foreign hoplites are not contributors and not an organized branch of the army.¹⁵

The Athenian cavalry is thought to have been organized as a regular force around 450 BC or a little earlier.¹⁶ In 424 the chorus in Aristophanes' *Knights* (576–80) declare that they neither receive nor desire anything from the state, in contrast to the generals who demand *proedria* (front seats) and *sitesis* (public maintenance), and the passage has been taken to show that the cavalry was not paid at this time.¹⁷ This may seem to conflict

¹² Clerc 1893, 53, Whitehead 1977, 75.

¹³ Clerc 1893, 249, Whitehead 1977, 75, 83, as opposed to U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Demotika der attischen Motöken," *Hermes* 22, 1887, 228.

¹⁴ Dem. 57.60. *koinon grammateion* was evidently not a technical term. Elsewhere it is used of the phratry register, *IG ii*² 1237, 97–8, and probably Isae. 7.16–17 with reference to both *gennetai* and *phratores*; cf. Harp. s.v.

¹⁵ In addition to registration in the demes, a central registry for metics has sometimes been postulated. Whitehead 1977, 75, 83 has recently returned to this position. He suggests registration with the polemarch, who is involved with the metics in the fourth century, e.g. Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 58.3, and with whom the metics are registered in the Decree of Themistocles (M. H. Jameson, "A Revised Text of the Decree of Themistokles from Troizen," *Hesperia* 31, 1962, 310–15, ML 23, 29–31). It should be noted that no fourth-century source indicates that metics were mustered from lists in the hands of the polemarch, even if they were in fact registered with him for payment of the *metoikion*, a major reason for a central registry according to Whitehead. This would indicate a change in practice between 480 and the fourth century, a change perhaps already in effect by the time of the present decree, when the number of metics increased and they came to be scattered more widely among the demes and were required to register in their place of residence. If the Decree of Themistocles is taken to be entirely of fourth-century origin, one would need to suppose that its author imagined the mustering of metics from the polemarch's rolls on the basis of such relics of his authority as had survived.

¹⁶ Anderson 1961, 130–1, and 212 note 9.

¹⁷ ἡμεῖς δ' ἀξιοῦμεν τῇ πόλει | προῖκα γενναίως ἀμύνειν καὶ θεοῖς ἐγχαρίοις. | καὶ πρὸς οὐκ αἰτοῦμεν οὐδὲν πλὴν τοσούτον μόνον· | ἦν ποτ' εἰρήνη γένηται καὶ πόνων παυσώμεθα, | μὴ φθονεῖθ' ἡμῖν κομῶσι μὴδ' ἀπεστελεγγισμένοις.

with what I take to be inescapable references in our text (lines 6 and 9) to some form of payment for all the troops. To put the inscription later than 424 would raise even more problems. To suppose that payment had been instituted before the war but, for the cavalry at least, had been dropped in the course of the Archidamian War is just possible, but it may rather be that Aristophanes did not intend the selflessness of his knights to be taken too literally. Furthermore, it may be that they regarded the *misthos*, which he has them ignore, as subsidy for their horse's food and care rather than as salary or privileges for themselves.¹⁸

The tax

The relative tax is restored as 4:2:1 for cavalry, hoplites, and archers. One's first thought is that the rate of tax corresponds to the rate of pay. There are few sources that give the pay for more than one type of soldier. A text of the Hellenic League of Antigonos and Demetrius from Epidauros (303/2 BC) has been interpreted as implying a pay scale of 5:2:1 (the last being for *psiloi*).¹⁹ In the quadruple alliance of 420 BC cavalry are to receive twice as much for *sitos* (food) as are hoplites, *psiloi*, and archers, who all receive three Aeginetan obols (Thuc. 5.47.6). A theoretical scale, corresponding to the expenses of the type of soldier, and perhaps to his presumed value to the army, may have existed, but financial and political considerations could alter it severely. For the latter, there is the law proposed by Theozotides, probably after the fall of the Thirty, whereby a ratio of 3:2 between *hippeis* and *hippotoxotai* was converted to one of 1:4.²⁰ Practically, if three obols was the normal maximum for the Athenian foot-soldier during the Peloponnesian War, a scaling down to less than three for mercenary archers, for whom the pay constituted both maintenance and wages, seems unlikely. By contrast, the tradition of hoplites serving as a duty rather than for pay remained strong even in democratic Athens.²¹ I suggest that if the tax scale seen in our decree corresponds to the scale of *misthos* received, the pay scale is a relatively new scheme, as yet unaffected by repeated campaigning seasons and the financial drain they involved. A consideration that could have survived fluctuations

¹⁸ Cf. Pritchett 1971, 6, 23, for *misthos* as equivalent to *sitos* and *trophe* and 6, note 7 for the maintenance of horses.

¹⁹ IG iv² 1, 68, 96–9, H. M. Schmitt, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*, vol. 3, Munich 1969, 446; Pritchett 1971, 21.

²⁰ L. Gernet and M. Bizos, eds., *Lysias Discours*, vol. 2, Paris 1926, 258–60, B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Hibe Papyri*, London 1906, vol. 1, 14; Pritchett 1971, 21, 23; R. S. Stroud, "Greek Inscriptions: Theozotides and the Athenian Orphans," *Hesperia* 40, 1971, 297–9.

²¹ Pritchett 1971, 24, 27–8.

in actual pay may have been the conception of the likely financial means of each category of soldier. Finally, we may also wonder whether the degree to which each category used the god's *temenos*, for which the tax was intended, had a bearing on the scale. As we shall see, the wear and tear caused by the cavalry would have been considerably greater than that of the two others.

The tax has been described as of only symbolic value.²² If we calculate the returns on the basis of the three categories of troops certainly represented, interpreted in the most restricted terms, with the numbers given by Thucydides for 431 BC (2.13.6–8) we have:

cavalry	1,200	2 dr. each	2,400 dr.
hoplites	13,000	1 dr. each	13,000 dr. (excl. metics and the youngest and oldest)
archers	1,600	3 ob. each	800 dr.
total = 16,200 dr. = 2 tal. 42 mn.			

The total would be of no help for the building of a fifth-century temple. For the annual *therapeia* (maintenance) of a *temenos* it is a respectable figure.²³

The collectors

The two groups of collectors, the *toxarchoi* and the *demarchoi*, are not comparable. The former are purely military and would possess a purely military list, whereas the *demarchoi* are in no sense military and their rolls are used for much more than military service. Why were the *katalogoi* of cavalry and hoplites, the equivalent of the *toxarchoi*'s lists, not used?²⁴ Why were the military commanders, who mobilized their troops by means of the *katalogoi*, or the paymasters (lines 8–9, involved only in case of failure to pay) not required to collect the tax? There are parallels for *demarchoi* collecting cult taxes. In the First Fruits Decree for the Eleusinian gods the *demarchoi* are to collect the grain in their own demes, though, to be sure, there are no obvious alternatives as collectors as there are here (*IG* i³ 76, i² 76, ML 73). A fragmentary text from the Acropolis refers to *demarchoi* and *tamiai* (*IG*

²² K. Wernicke, "Die Polizeiwache auf der Berg von Athen," *Hermes* 26, 1891, 72–3, Plassart 1913, 201.

²³ The pediment sculptors of the Parthenon received a little more than this in one year, not, I fear, a very helpful comparison, *IG* i³ 449, 33–4, i² 352, ML 59.

²⁴ The *katalogoi*, lists by tribe, were referred to frequently in connection with mobilization of cavalry and hoplites. The young soldier was enrolled at the time of his registration in his deme, i.e., in the *lexiarchikon grammateion*, but the relationship of that register to the military lists is not clear from our sources and has not been examined by modern scholarship. See Clerc 1893, 52–3, A. Hauvette in Dar-Sag II.1, s.v. "Dilectus," pp. 206–212, F. Lammert, s.v. "Katologos," *REX*, 1919, 2470–1, does little more than list sources, not always accurately.

i³ 141, i² 168). There is a presumption then that collection by *demarchoi* is normal. It is collection by the purely military *toxarchoi* here that needs to be accounted for. They collect from the *toxotai*, not further specified (line 7). Does this refer to all archers or only to the foreign archers? If we believe that *thetes*, from whose ranks would have come the citizen archers, were enrolled in the deme registers before the fifth century, citizen archers would have been among those in the *lexiarchikon grammateion* already mentioned as paying to the *demarchoi*. The decree does not go on to specify that the *toxarchoi* collect only from foreign archers because that would be evident from lines 5–6. Mercenary archers, temporarily in Athens, would not be, or would not all be, resident aliens registered in demes or with the *polemarchos*. The only way of securing payments from them would have been through their commanders. Hence the addition of *toxarchoi* as collectors. If we deny the presence of the lowest census of citizens on the deme registers, we must suppose the *toxarchoi* collected from foreign and citizen archers alike. We would also have to suppose that all citizen hoplites were classed as *zeugitai*, if all were to be taxed. This text alone cannot determine which view of the registration of *thetes* is correct since it can be interpreted on either assumption. But that does not make the notion of the anonymity of the *thetes* in the Periclean democracy any more likely.²⁵

Identity of the cult

The recipient of the contributions is Apollo (line 11) but which Apollo? Hiller's suggestion of Apollo Patroios was considered by H. Thompson, but

²⁵ The above is an expansion of the argument I put forward (Jameson 1963, 400). The opposing view can be found in Jordan 1975, 207–8. The arguments for the registration before the fourth century of *thetes* in the demes (not in the *katalogoi*, of course) do not depend on the authenticity of the information contained in the Decree of Themistocles, where it is assumed that all Athenians would be found on the deme registers. The prime considerations are (1), the meaning of *lexiarchikon*, (2), the function of the registers and (3), the inherent probability that with the creation of the demes after 508 registration was required of all citizens, whether or not they were already registered in the *grammateia* of *phratriai* and *gene*. As far as I can see, the case against the registration of *thetes* after Cleisthenes rests solely on one of the two lexicographic interpretations, i.e. of *λῆξις* in *ληξιαρχικόν* as referring to property, and not at all on Aeschin. 2.103, where an orphan is said to have come into control of his property on reaching his majority, marked by registration in the deme (pace P. Vidal-Naquet, “La tradition de l’hoplite athénien,” in J. P. Vernant, ed., *Problèmes de la guerre en Grèce ancienne, Civilisations et sociétés*, vol. 11, Paris 1968, 164–5). For a comparable issue with regard to the casualty lists, see D. W. Bradeen, “The Athenian Casualty Lists,” *Hesperia* 33, 1964, 25 note 15, Bradeen 1969, 153. Not only *nautai* but *hippeis* and *hoplitai* (with the single exception of Bradeen 1974, 23, 60 for the last) are absent from the rubrics (cf. Smith 1919, 357). Tribal affiliation was the only information essential for all citizens. For *nautai*, *epibatai*, and *psiloi* this requires deme registration.

the evidence is essentially negative, i.e. the absence of a temple in the text and Patroios' lack of a temple until the late fifth century BC, and he granted that there was nothing definite to connect this text with that cult.²⁶ R. Schlaifer believed that Apollo Pythius was probably the god on the basis of an *aparche* (first fruits offering) for him listed in the records of the Treasurers of the Other Gods in 429/8 BC.²⁷ Both proposals neglect the evidence in the text which, together with the place where the inscription was seen, provides a clear solution.

The tax is to be paid by the Athenian land forces and is to be used for the upkeep of the god's *temenos*, but not, it seems, a temple. We are not concerned with a general cult of war, nor with the defense of Athens as such, for the chief embodiment of Athenian power, the navy, is absent. If we ask why these contributors alone are involved, the answer is that they were the ones who used the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios, outside the walls to the east, for military exercises and musters (ἐξετάσεις καὶ συλλόγους, Hsch. s.v. Λυκείου). Aristophanes shows the hoplites (*Pax* 353 and Schol.), Xenophon the cavalry practicing there in numbers (*Eq. Mag.* 3.1 and 6–7). The *temenos* was thus an exercise ground, which accommodated Athens' sizable land forces and would have been in need of significant expenditure for maintenance. It is well known that the Athenians did not exercise their land forces as did Sparta, nor as they did their own navy, and that they either boasted or lamented the fact.²⁸ A part-time army of *autourgoi*, farmers, businessmen, craftsmen, and traders could not practically do so. Nonetheless the mere mustering of so large a force even with minimal drill required the large area the Lyceum provided and surely left its mark on the grounds. Aristophanes' chorus knows the Lyceum all too well:

καὶ γὰρ ἱκανὸν χρόνον ἀπολλύμεθα καὶ κατατετρίμμεθα πλανώμενοι |
ἐς Λύκειον καὶ Λυκείου ξὺν δορὶ ξὺν ἄσπιδι (*Pax* 353–6).²⁹

²⁶ H. A. Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," *Hesperia* 6, 1937, 113 [note 7](#). Cf. H. A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora XIV: The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972, 137 on the history of the shrine. D. Feaver more rashly wrote of the identification as probable, cf. "Historical Development in the Priesthoods of Athens," *YCIS* 15, 1957, 142.

²⁷ R. Schlaifer, "Notes on Athenian Public Cults," *HSCP* 51, 1940, 235–6, referring to *IG* i³ 383, 237; i² 310, 283–4.

²⁸ W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, vol. 2, Berkeley 1974, ch. 11, especially 210–12.

²⁹ By attaching the inscription to the Lyceum where all the land forces mustered and drilled, we dispense with the hypothesis that a select number were engaged in a procession or other ceremony for which they received compensation, as both Meritt and I (Jameson 1963) assumed. *IG* i³ 130, i² 128, which cannot be far from ours in date, shows interesting resemblances and differences. *Naukleroi* are to contribute (χορμυβάλλονται) money for repairs to the sanctuary of Apollo Delius at Phaleron. The captains are no doubt those who put in at

The fullest and most recent discussion of the site is by J. P. Lynch.³⁰ He discusses the location of other inscriptions having to do with the Lyceum, in particular *IG* ii² 2875, found near the church of Ἀγία Σωτεῖρα Λυκόδημος (or Νικόδημος) which may in fact carry a remembrance of Apollo's epithet. Map 8 of J. Travlos' *Πολεοδομικὴ Ἑξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens 1960, shows that Ἀγία Σωτεῖρα τοῦ Κοτάκη, where Fourmont saw our text, is about 150 meters southwest of Ἀγία Σωτεῖρα Λυκόδημος.

The early history of the Lyceum is complicated by the three functions it served, not to mention the philosophic center it later became. It was (1) the cult place of the god, (2) an exercise area for troops, and (3) the site of a gymnasium for athletes. It seems never to have had a temple and its primary function would of course be satisfied by an altar, even without a statue before the installation of that described by Lucian and dating probably from the fourth century BC.³¹ For the second function too, that of exercise grounds, no buildings were essential and it is not evident that any are envisaged in our text. The connection with the military is taken back before Solon by the tradition that the *polemarchos* had his seat there before all the archons were brought together in the *thesmotheion* (archons' meeting-hall).³² After the expulsion of the Pisistratidae, in the proud era of Athenian hoplite successes, we should suppose that it was much used. In a text set up on the return of the democracy in 410, but very likely quoting a document of the beginning of the democracy in the late sixth century, we find the words τὰδ[ε] ἐδόχσεν ἐλ Λυκείῳ τοι δ[έ]μοι τοι Α[θη]ν[α]ίων (it seemed good to the Athenian people in the Lyceum).³³ It would seem that the hoplite-dominated demos of the late sixth century had assembled in the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios to pass the measures which the restored democracy of 410 chose to reaffirm. The link between the exercise ground of the armed forces and their place

Phaleron but their use of the sanctuary is not comparable to the soldiers' use of the Lyceum. The tax is to be farmed out by the *poletai*.

³⁰ J. P. Lynch, *Aristotle's School: A Study of a Greek Educational Institution*, Berkeley 1972, ch. 1 and especially 24 and 217, fig. 1. See also J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London 1971, 291, fig. 379, 345, 347, fig. 449. W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², *HdA* III.2.2, Munich 1931, Plan 1, H5.

³¹ Lucian *Anach.* 7. Cf. J. E. Harrison in M. de G. Verrall and Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, London 1890, 220, J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, vol. 2, London 1898, 196, and Thompson 1972, 139 note 15.

³² Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 3.5 (the supposed derivation of the building's name from a certain Epilycus is to be rejected), *Suda* s.v. ἀρχων, Hsch. s.v. ἐπι Λύκειον, *Anecd. Bekk.* 1, 449, 17.

³³ *IG* i³ 105, 34, i² 114, cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, "Studies in Attic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century BC," *BSA* 23, 1932–3, 120–1, P. Cloché, "Le conseil athénien des cinq cents et la peine de mort," *RÉG* 33, 1920, 28–35, D. M. Lewis, "A Note on *IG* i² 114," *JHS* 87, 1967, 132. The phrase quoted has its nearest parallel in *IG* i³ 4, of 485/4 BC.

of assembly as the citizen body may be long-standing and significant.³⁴ A gymnasium is referred to at the dramatic date of Plato's *Euthydemus*, ca. 420 BC (303B) and, if that reference is anachronistic, probably by 408 (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.33).³⁵ Tradition attributed its construction to Pisistratus, to Pericles, or to Lycurgus.³⁶ Lycurgus certainly gave the building his attention but he was not the first to do so. The language referring to Pericles' involvement is "documentary," as Jacoby pointed out, and Mattingly has suggested that *IG* i³ 49, i² 54, which he would date to 432/1, records the city's declining to accept the offer of Pericles and his kin to pay the costs.³⁷ Whatever the merits of that suggestion (and the text of *IG* i³ 49 offers no specific support) we now have further evidence of interest in the Lyceum in the period of Pericles' leadership. We need to ask whether the various functions of the site – religious, military, athletic and, once at least, political – are all due to the convenient existence of a large open area close to the city, as I think has been generally assumed, or whether there is a basic connection between them.³⁸ But first we consider other Athenian evidence for the cult.

Other Athenian evidence

The Lyceum presumably was the scene of an annual festival, whether or not a larger festival was held at longer intervals. In the State Calendar of Sacrifices there is reference to the sacrifice of a sheep to Ἑρμῇ ἐλ Λυκεῖο (to Hermes in the Lyceum), preceded by a rite for Athena Polias and followed on the 7th of the month – a day sacred to Apollo and probably a different day from that of Hermes' offering – by a small sacrifice (οἷς λειπογνώμων, a baby lamb) no doubt to Apollo himself, since the Pythaïstai are involved.³⁹

³⁴ The assembly that moved Athens in the opposite direction in 411 also met outside the walls, in the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippius at Colonus (Thuc. 8.67.2). Was there also an exercise ground for cavalry, attached to or near the shrine? Cf. the opening words of Sophocles' chorus, *O.C.* 668–9, εὐίπου, ξένε, τᾷσδε χώρας ἴκου τὰ κράτιστα γᾶς ἔπαυλα . . .

³⁵ C. G. Cobet, however, deleted γυμνάσιον after τὸ Λύκειον as a gloss, and he may have been right.

³⁶ Pisistratus: Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F136; Pericles: Philoch. 328 F37; Lycurgus: Paus. 1.29.6, [Plut.] *X Orat.* 841C, 852C, *IG* ii² 457 (*Syll.*³ 326). F. Jacoby, *FGrH* 1923, on the Philochorus fragment's ἐπισταντοῦτος Περικλέους, compared F121 and suggested Pericles may have presided over the board of *epistatai* for the building. In general, see J. Delorme, *Gymnasion*, Paris 1960, 36–44, who thinks the building was destroyed by the Persians and not rebuilt until Pericles.

³⁷ H. B. Mattingly, "Athens, Delphi and Eleusis in the late 420s," *Proceedings of the African Classical Association* 9, 1966, 70.

³⁸ Proximity to the city is stressed in Schol. Ar. *Pax* 353 (*Suda* s.v. Λύκειον, Phot. s.v.).

³⁹ *IG* ii² 1357, b, J. Oliver, "The American Excavations in the Athenian Agora, 6th report, Greek Inscriptions Nos. 1–36," *Hesperia* 4, 1935, 29–31, *LSCG* 17C. On the οἷς λειπογνώμων, see

But this is too insignificant to be the principal festival. At most it is an annual commemoration of what was done on a larger scale at two- or four-year intervals. More revealing is the information in the deme calendar of Erchia, that on the 12th of Metageitnion a male sheep was to be sacrificed ἐν ᾧστει (in the city, i.e., in the Athenian Lyceum), and the meat was not to be carried away. Evidently a delegation from the deme came to the city for the sacrifice. On the same day sacrifices were to be made to Zeus Polieus and Athena Polias on the Athenian Acropolis (male and female sheep), and to Demeter in the Eleusinion in Athens.⁴⁰ The date shows that these are not the same as the rites mentioned in the State Calendar but both texts link Apollo Lykeios with the chief city gods – the gods of the religious heart of the polis and the goddess who provides for the city's sustenance. The Erchians also sacrificed to Apollo Lykeios on the 7th of Gamelion, in the late winter, in a festival in which on two successive days Apollo was honored under four different epithets – Lykeios – a male sheep, with γέρα (honors) for the Pythaistai – Delphinus, Nymphagetes, with whom are associated the Nymphs, and Apotropaeus (twice – once πρὸς Παιανιέων and once with γέρα for the Pythaistai). All the sacrifices, except for the Apollo “in the direction of the Paianians,” could have taken place in the Delphinion where a preliminary offering of a pig was made to Kourotrophos. It is likely that the Erchians had no separate shrine for Lykeios, but honored him at a festival for a number of Apollos, and joined in the state sacrifices to him in the city on the 7th of Metageitnion.⁴¹

Two other inscriptions refer to Apollo Lykeios in Attica. One is a rough stone bearing the word Λυκεῖο in the Attic alphabet, said to have been found at the Spata that is about half an hour and 3 kilometers south of the hill of Kotroni, the site of ancient Aphidna, on which there are undated fortification walls.⁴² The other is the text of a lease of the late fourth century BC, probably from Rhamnous. Presumably a *temenos* is being leased for cultivation and certain payments or offerings are stipulated for the god or

H. Hansen, “The Meaning of λειπογνώμων,” *GRBS* 14, 1973, 325–32. Apollo Lykeios' priest had a seat in the theater in the Roman period, *IG* ii² 5073.

⁴⁰ G. Daux, “La grande démarchie: un nouveau calendrier sacrificiel d'Erchia,” *BCH* 87, 1963 603–34, A 1–5, B 1–5, Γ 13–18, Δ 13–17, *LSCG* 18, *SEG* XXI, 541.

⁴¹ Daux 1963, A 23–36, Γ 31–7, E 31–46.

⁴² S. Wide, “Epigraphischer Miscellen,” *AthMitt* 20, 1895, 215 5; *IG* i³ 1086, i² 873. E. Vanderpool kindly informs me that the place called Spata on the *Karten von Attika* is that marked Πευκόφυτον (Σπατζίκι) on the Sideris 1:50,000 map. On Aphidna, see J. R. McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 11, 1966, 81–3, who denies that it can have been a garrison fort. It is listed as a place of refuge for country people and their goods along with Phyle, Rhamnous, and Sunium in the interpolated decree at Dem. *De Cor.* 28, 37–8.

gods (Apollo Lykeios is not certainly the owner of the *temenos*).⁴³ The Spata inscription may be the boundary stone of a *temenos* of Lykeios, as Wide suggested. But it may be significant that both places are on the outskirts of Athenian territory and both had fortifications nearby where troops would have served. The two properties may have had shrines of the god who presided over the military muster and drill in Athens. Both may have had space for that same purpose at one time, but the presence of a garden and fruit trees in the Rhamnousian *temenos* shows that not all, and perhaps none, of it was so used in the late fourth century. Indeed, there may have been no need for such areas away from the city. It cannot be said that these two texts are informative. What seems certain is that an Athenian's contact with Apollo Lykeios was primarily through his military service in the land forces that assembled in the Lyceum of Athens.⁴⁴

The nature of the cult

Although the cult of Apollo Lykeios is widespread in the Greek world, ranging from Hellenistic Erythrae and Cnidus in the east to Archaic Metapontum in the west, there has been little attention paid to the character of the cult in the historical period.⁴⁵ Scholarly concern has been largely with the origin of the epithet, following one or another of three ancient explanations.

⁴³ *IG* ii² 2494 (*EM* 4225) where it is described as from Sunium. It belongs, however, to the stones excavated by Stäis from both Rhamnous and Sunium. This fragment bears a marked resemblance in the hand, the stone, and the treatment of the stone to *IG* ii² 2493. Fragments of a text related to the latter have been discovered at Rhamnous by V. Petrakos, *Praktika* 1978, 43–50; see M. H. Jameson, “The Leasing of Land at Rhamnous,” in *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography presented to Eugene Vanderpool, Hesperia* Suppl. 19, 1982, 67–74.

⁴⁴ Pausanias derives the name of the Lyceum from a hero Lycus, son of Pandion and eponym of the Lycians of Asia Minor (1.19.3), but there is no trace of a cult of Lycus there. The hero Lycus, whose heroon and statue were near a law court in Athens, cannot be connected with Apollo (Ar. *Vesp.* 389, 819–23, and lexicographical references in *RE* s.v. “Lykos,” 20). A. Boegehold, “Philokleon’s Court,” *Hesperia* 36, 1967, 111, has shown the futility of the speculations about this Lycus, but his own view, that the invocation ὦ Λύκε in Aristophanes would have been understood as an invocation to Apollo, ὦ Λύκειε, is untenable; cf. D. MacDowell, ed., *Aristophanes Wasps*, Oxford 1971, on line 389. Nor is there any reason to locate this court at the Lyceum; W. E. Higgins, “The Wolf-god Apollo in the Oresteia,” *PP* 31, 1976, 204 is mistaken. Lycus as a *Gerichtsdaimon* (e.g., *RE* s.v. “Lykos,” 20) and Lykeios as a judicial deity, despite his appearance in an oath in Eresos (*IG* xii, 2, 526b, 27–31, ca. 306 BC), cannot be supported on present evidence. Cf. *CGS* 4, 118, in contrast to R. C. Jebb, *Sophocles: The Plays and Fragments*, VI, *The Electra*, Cambridge 1907, 206.

⁴⁵ For the occurrence of the epithet, W. Kruse, “Lykeios,” *RE* XIII, 1935, 2:2268–70, and, for the month name, K. Bischoff, “Kalender,” *RE* X, 1919, 2:1568–1602. “Testimonia,” in *CGS*, 4, 358–60.

A connection with light (Latin *lux*, etc.) has lost favor in this century.⁴⁶ A connection with the *Lykioi* of Asia Minor has been tempting to those who see an Anatolian origin for Apollo, but it encounters the difficulty that this stem was not used by the native Lycians of themselves and that there is nothing in the Greek cult that points in their direction.⁴⁷ The third explanation, a derivation from λύκος, wolf, is more commonly accepted, sometimes with the suggestion that the animal is appropriate to the god of mountain-dwelling northerners because of their concern for the protection of flocks from predatory wolves, or that the conception is Thracian in origin. Opinion is divided as to whether the god himself was ever conceived of in wolf form.⁴⁸

Recently W. Burkert has revived the view of J. Harrison that sees an innate connection between the Ἀπέλλαι, assemblies of adult males, and the name of the god in the form Ἀπέλλων. These assemblies are taken to be annual gatherings at which the young men of the community were integrated into the company of the adults. The representation of Apollo as the long-haired κούρος (youth) is a powerful reinforcement of the textual evidence.⁴⁹ The form *Apellon*, the *apellai*, and the month Apellaios are characteristic of Dorian and other West Greek communities. The best-known example of the *apellai* is the festival of that name in the month Apellaios, so prominent in the inscription of the *Labyadae* of Delphi, an organization comparable to an Athenian phratry.⁵⁰ Apollo does not appear in the Athenian Apaturia, the festival of the *phratryai* shared with other Ionian communities, over which Zeus Phratrius presides.⁵¹ Even in the Delphic inscription one might take the single occurrence of his name in an oath, along with Poseidon Phratrius and Zeus Patroios, as referring to his patronage of the whole community of Delphi rather than to a specific role in the ceremony or in the phratry.⁵² These points will illustrate the difficulties in tracing the survival into the historical period of a plausible institution of earlier times. This is

⁴⁶ E.g., H. Usener, *Götternamen*, Frankfurt am Main 1948, 210–16.

⁴⁷ CGS 4, 119–23; W. Burkert, “Apellai und Apollo,” *RhM* 118, 1975, 3–4.

⁴⁸ E.g., U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, vol. 1, Darmstadt 1959, 143–4; CGS 4, 113–18; GGR 536–8 (= i³ 1967); R. A. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid*, Ithaca NY 1972, 205. Some may wish to see a concern with marauding wolves in the presence of Lykeios in the Attic countryside, discussed above.

⁴⁹ J. E. Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, Cambridge 1912, 439–41. Burkert 1975, 1–21 and *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart 1977, 227.

⁵⁰ G. Rougemont, *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes*, vol. 1, *Lois sacrées et règlements religieux*, Paris 1977, 9; E. Schwyzler, *Dialectorum graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora*, Leipzig 1923, 323; C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, Chicago 1955, 52.

⁵¹ L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, 232–4. ⁵² Rougemont 1977, B 12–17.

hardly surprising in view of the admittedly complex origin of the figure of Apollo and the differing social, political, and religious development of the various parts of the Greek world. While attracted by the hypothesis that we have here an essential aspect of the god Apollo, I do not wish to minimize the complexities of his cults, on one hand, nor of the relevant institutions, on the other, as we actually see them in the evidence available to us.⁵³

The epithet Lykeios is associated with the assemblies and the group of adult males only in passing by Burkert.⁵⁴ The truth is that aside from the epithet itself, little is known of the cult outside of Attica, even though it is attested mostly among West Greek speakers and is thought to have spread from the Peloponnesus.⁵⁵ The significance of lycanthropy for initiation practices has been explored fruitfully by H. Jeanmaire, without reference, however, to Apollo Lykeios.⁵⁶ P. Vidal-Naquet has also included the symbolism of the secretive and wily wolf in his study of the Greek *ephebeia* as a period of transition while the youths were on the margins of society, physically as well as socially on the borders and in the wild, before their integration into the adult community. He stresses the contrast with the open, fair-fighting, civic-minded hoplite.⁵⁷

⁵³ The pitfalls inherent in such studies are well brought out by C. Sourvinou-Inwood in "Review of A. Brelich, *Paides e parthenoi*, Rome 1969," *JHS* 91, 1971, 172–7.

⁵⁴ Burkert 1975, 14 [note 56](#), and 1977, 227.

⁵⁵ At Argos Lykeios was the chief god of the city, as opposed to the region, with his temple in the agora and public inscriptions erected in his sanctuary. Cf. Paus. 2.19.3–4 and Tomlinson 1972, 204–5. At Argos, with its early hoplite tradition, his elevation to chief god of the city is not inconsistent with his patronage of the armed men. There may have been another *temenos* away from the agora where riding of horses (except as part of official exercises?) and collecting or cutting of wood were prohibited, *IG* iv 557, *LSCG* 57 (Fourmont's copy seems to show a reference to κόρκορος, a wild vegetable of the Peloponnesus, according to Schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 239).

Elsewhere one is struck by a number of simple, epichoric inscriptions, some of which are clearly private and none of which are certainly public. L. H. Jeffery suggested that some at least should be taken as λύκεια, presumably stones dedicated to Lykeios: *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, 322, [note 4](#); one might compare the stones of Meilichius, *GGR*, 413–14, and M. H. Jameson, D. R. Jordan, and R. D. Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinous*, *GRBM* 11, Durham, NC 1993, 81–107. Unfortunately the clearest example has now been shown not to read Λύκειον but Λυκῆιοι, H. R. Pomtow, *BPhilWoch* 1909, 223, 764, corrected by J. Pouilloux, "Les épigrammes grecques," *BCH* 73, 1949, 488, [note 2](#), R. Flacelière, *Fouilles de Delphes*, vol. 3, *Epigraphie*, fasc. IV, *Inscriptions de la terrasse du temple*, Paris 1954, [note 187](#). Two other examples referred to by Jeffery are not clear: Thera, *IG* xii 3, no. 389 and xii, Suppl., 86; Sikinos, *IG* xii 5, no. 25 and Suppl. ad no. 178, Jeffery 1961, 322, no. 28. Other early references to Lykeios: Metapontum, *IG* xiv 647, Jeffery 1961, 255, no. 14; Megara, *IG* vii 5, Jeffery 1961, 137, no. 7 and Pl. 22. (For Attica, see [note 42](#) above.)

⁵⁶ H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et curètes*, Lille 1939, 558.

⁵⁷ P. Vidal-Naquet, "The Black Hunter and the Origin of the Athenian Ephebeia," *PCPhS* 194, 1968, 49–64, esp. 53–6.

It will have been noticed that Apollo Lykeios at Athens conspicuously represents the culmination of the initiatory, integrating process. He is the god of the adult males, hoplites who have passed their tests and have been fully accepted. He is linked directly with the dominant figures of the civic community, the polis, in the festival on the 12th of Metageitnion when Zeus Polieus and Athena Polias receive sacrifice on the Acropolis, while Apollo Lykeios is worshipped in the Lyceum, and the linkage with Athena Polias at least is almost certainly attested at one other festival. By contrast, Apollo with any title is notably absent from the list of seventeen *theoi* that Athenian youths swore by on entering their two final years of preparation for adulthood.⁵⁸ Nor does the thorough study by C. Pélékidis reveal any particular concern on the part of the ξφηβοί (youths) for Apollo.⁵⁹ The Ephebic Oath has been described as “the archaic Athenian civic oath,” which “binds together and to the state hoplites (not necessarily all citizens) who appear to be politically unprivileged and harmless.”⁶⁰ Siewert’s demonstration of the early character of the oath is persuasive and the submissiveness and lack of rights of the oath-takers are certainly striking. But it is hard to conceive of any group of citizen hoplites of the seventh, much less the sixth century, who would reaffirm their powerlessness year after year – how else was it preserved? – into the Classical period. Rather, the oath is strictly ephebic, taken by young men on their entering into the transition between youth and manhood, before they have proved themselves and before they are admitted to full rights. The gods they swear by are appropriate to this phase and not to full civic membership. Athena herself appears only as πάρεδρος (assistant) to Ares with the title Areia. Hers is the only epithet in the list and it has long been observed that she owes her presence on the inscribed version of the text to the fact that the *stèle* was set up in the sanctuary of Ares and Athena Areia at Acharnae.⁶¹ Thus Apollo’s absence from the oath agrees with our other evidence. At Athens he was the god of the initiated, not the initiants.

We are left to speculate on whether the wolf of Lykeios in Attica never carried the connotations of the wild adolescent before he became a man, or whether, in the many ethnic and cultic strains that went into the making of the historical Athenian state, the figure of Apollo Lykeios came to be

⁵⁸ L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris 1938, 296–307, Tod 2, no. 204, G. Daux, “Le serment des éphèbes athéniens,” *REG* 84, 1971, 370–83.

⁵⁹ C. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l’éphébie Attique des origines à 31 avant Jésus-Christ*, Paris 1962, IG ii² 900 (early second century BC) does not change the picture.

⁶⁰ P. Siewert, “The Ephebic Oath in Fifth-Century Athens,” *JHS* 97, 1977, 102–11. Neither Siewert nor I make any assumptions as to the degree or character of the organization of ephebes before the fourth century.

⁶¹ Robert 1938, 305, Siewert 1977, 109–10.

fixed on the moment of passing out of the transition into full manhood, the end rather than the beginning of the *ephebeia*, and thus attached to the assembled adult males. Other traditions, by this view, came to dominate the transitional period itself. It should be noted that among the West Greek speakers too, the relationship of Lykeios to other, initiatory aspects of Apollo is far from clear.⁶²

If, however, we grant that the cult is essentially an expression of the assembled warriors of the community, the development of the other aspects of the Athenian sanctuary become explicable. The army of the Archaic and Classical polis is the community and so always potentially political.⁶³ The identity of the two is revealed particularly at times of crisis, and in Athens it will fade after the political recognition of the *thetes*. The gymnasium, too, can be seen as an outgrowth of the assemblies and exercises at the sanctuary, perhaps fostered by Pisistratus and his sons to emphasize the agonistic over the political and military aspects. The social pluralism of Periclean Athens, as we might term it today, where the rich do not lose their role in society at the same time as the poor are enabled to play theirs (cf. Thuc. 2.37ff.) can be seen in the renewed attention to the gymnasium, inevitably the haunt of the more well-to-do, at the same time as the army becomes more specialized and socially more diverse with everything from a cavalry elite to thetic and mercenary archers, all using and contributing to the Lyceum.

It is worth considering before we end whether the conception of Apollo Lykeios we have seen in the life of Athenian soldiers is reflected in the not infrequent use of the title in Attic poetry. The poets, of course, drew upon the full range of associations that language and myth provided and did not restrict themselves to one aspect of the god at a time. The native cult furnished but one strand of many and its connotations were not always the most appropriate to the poet's purpose.⁶⁴

⁶² e.g., τὰ τῶι / Λυκείῳ δῶματα of the Delphic *Labyadae*, Rougemont 1977, D 36–7 and 70–1. It is uncertain whether it is the god, his shrine, or the shrine of a hero that is referred to, still more what may be the relationship to the *Apellaia*. Sparta possessed the most elaborate initiatory system of the historical period, but it is not evident that Apollo Lykeios was involved, cf. Alc., Page, *PMG* fr. 49 and 50 (*PLG* 73 and 83): month name in Epidaurus Limera, *IG* v 1, 932, 12; Hsch. s.v. Λυκιάδες κόραι where attempts to emend the reference to Sparta are unjustified. At Sikyon rites of initiation have been detected in myths and ritual of Apollo and Artemis, Paus. 2.7.7–8, M. Massenzio, “La festa di Artemis Triklaria e Dionysos Aisymnetes a Patrai,” *SMSR* 39, 1968, 121–2, A. Brelich, *Paides e parthenoi*, Rome 1969, 377–87. There was also a neglected sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios, Paus. 2.9.7.

⁶³ Cf. Y. Garlan, *La Guerre dans l'antiquité*, Paris 1972, 62–7.

⁶⁴ A conspicuous example is Aesch. Ag. 1257. L. R. Farnell, “Evidence of Greek Religion on the Text and Interpretation of Attic Tragedy,” *CQ* 4, 1910, 181 and Higgins 1976, 201–2 are surely

Aesch. *Sept.* 145–6: καὶ σύ, Λύκει' ἄναξ, λύκειος γενοῦ στρατῷ δαΐφ . . . Wolfish Apollo here is called upon by the chorus of Theban women to be wolf-like against the hostile army. So too may the Athenian army have conceived of the god's patronage.

Aesch. *Supp.* 686–7: εὐμενῆς δ' ὁ Λυκεῖος ἔστω πάσῃ νεολαίᾳ (Lykeios, be kindly to all the young). The sentence immediately before has wished that the citizens be free of disease, and following that, that Zeus will make the land and animals fruitful. The whole chorus, sung by the Danaids, has alternated between invocations of the divinities of peace and averting prayers against war, including civil strife, and disease, echoing the contrasts between Hesiod's just and unjust city (*Op.* 225–47) and the rewards and penalties proclaimed in oaths. In poetry Apollo both brings and takes away disease and this role is no doubt implied in the prayer for a “kindly Lykeios.” But Lykeios was also known to Athenians as the chief god of the city of Argos and his kindness to the youth of Argos in the context of peace and war would suggest the god of the Athenian military assemblies (see *Pers.* 669 for νεολαία of the young soldiers, in effect the army, and cf. ἥβας ἄνθος, “flower of youth” of *Supp.* 663). This invocation thus adds thoughts of war to disease before turning to the full benefits of peace that Zeus is asked to ensure.⁶⁵ Sophocles introduces the local wolf-slaying Lykeios of Argos with an explicit topographic reference (*El.* 6–7) and both Clytaemnestra and Electra appeal to him in the course of the play. For Clytaemnestra, he is to fulfill the import of her dream, if it is favorable to her, or avert it if it is not (645, 655). For Electra he is to be her helper and show that the gods punish the impious (1379–83). The poet has made his audience aware of the god's proximity in this Argive setting and it is natural that both sides appeal to him for help. He is also, of course, the god who interprets and the god who has sent the avenger on his way. The presence of the god is also stressed by Iocasta in *Oedipus Tyrannus* (919: ἄγχιστος γὰρ εἶ). This is usually taken to refer to the household, protective image of Apollo, perhaps represented in the scene.⁶⁶ But there is no obvious reason why this figure should be Lykeios, to keep, so to speak, the wolf from the door, and I do not see that a general equivalence to Ἀποτρόπαιος (avertor) is indicated. Possibly a shrine of Lykeios on the Cadmeia was known, for, as we have seen in the *Electra*, Sophocles will

right against E. Fraenkel, *Aeschylus Agamemnon*, Oxford 1950, ad loc. in seeing an allusion to the Argive as appropriate in the mouth of Cassandra. The further connotations of the epithet here are discussed by Higgins.

⁶⁵ Cf. N. Wecklein, *Äschylos Die Schutzflehenden*, Leipzig 1902, ad loc.

⁶⁶ So R. C. Jebb, *Sophocles The Plays and Fragments*, vol. 1, *The Oedipus Tyrannus*, Cambridge 1893, 911–23.

exploit a local presence.⁶⁷ There has been an earlier invocation of Lykeios by the chorus (203–6) where he is to be helper (as for Electra, ἄρωγός, though used here of his arrows) and champion. Artemis is also summoned with an allusion to the Lycian hills (206–8). The language is military but the target is the plague. Apollo here is the archer, the healer and the interpreter of Zeus's will who will thus solve the city's problems. The local Athenian conception is not inconsistent with this, but only in the most general sense relevant. Lykeios was a familiar title for the poet who served as *strategos* and no doubt also as hoplite. It is absent from all the extant plays of Euripides, though parodied from the *Telephus* in Aristophanes' *Equites* 1240 (Schol.). We may wonder about the significance of this, but must admit that the implications of the use of the epithet are hard enough to apprehend, let alone its absence.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Note that Iocasta is on her way to the temples of the gods (911–12). Reference to a Theban shrine is denied by K. Wernicke, s.v. "Apollon" *RE* II, 1896, 2–111 col. 59, who sees the appeal to Lykeios as showing the Attic point of view.

⁶⁸ In a study I have seen only after the completion of this article, W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, vol. 3, Berkeley 1979, 324–6, collects some examples of Apollo in military contexts for comparison with the cult in our inscription, but he notes that Apollo is not primarily a war god and adds that "... in matters of warfare every Greek deity, like every medieval saint, might be called upon to give help." While this is no doubt true, the comparison he makes with a Lindian tax in favor of Enyalios suggests a more specific role for Apollo: S. Accame, "Un nuovo decreto di Lindo del V sec. AC," *Clara Rhodos* 9, 1938, 211–29; *LSS* 85. It should be noted that the sole collector of the Lindian tax is the general, not local officials comparable to the *demarchoi*, and that the regulation applies to those leaving Lindos on an expedition, which in view of the collection on the deme level is not likely to be the case for the Athenian decree. Finally, the Lindian tax is levied as a fraction, 1/60 of whatever pay the troops receive, whereas the Athenian is a fixed sum. The Lindians are concerned with occasional military operations outside their land, the Athenians with regular contact with Apollo at home.

In this essay I examine a phenomenon which has been remarked on before – it is so conspicuous that it could hardly be overlooked – but which has received less attention than one might expect. In essence it is this: Dionysus was, of all gods, the most closely associated with the phallus, the erect male member, at once the instrument and symbol of male sexuality. His myths and cults also refer to the liberation, if only temporary, of both women and men from social controls, including sexual controls, which in most cultures are among the most rigid. The god himself is represented to a surprising degree as detached and unconcerned with sex. There certainly are a number of exceptions, as is to be expected in a body of evidence that is spread over a millennium and comes from very diverse sources. I do not suggest, however, that these exceptions are insignificant; there is a persistent ambivalence about the god's involvement with sex.

One can refer to the god's detachment as "asexuality," as I have in the title of this essay. But one might also speak of his bisexuality, the coexistence of elements of *both* genders that may, in effect, cancel each other out, or even of his transcendence of sexuality.¹ There are frequent references to his effeminacy. Aeschylus in his lost play *Edoni* has that Pentheus-like figure Lycurgus ask, "Where does this woman-man come from?" and in his

Originally published in T. Carpenter and C. Faraone, eds., *Masks of Dionysus*, New York 1993, 44–64.

¹ 'Asexuality' is also used by R. J. Hoffman in "Ritual License and the Cult of Dionysos," *Athenaeum* 67, 1989, 105, and by S. Fineberg in an unpublished paper, "Dionysos in the New Democracy," which he has kindly let me see and which will be incorporated in a longer study, forthcoming. Both scholars were members of a National Endowment for the Humanities seminar on Greek religion and society that I organized at Stanford University in the summer of 1983. I profited from the stimulating experience the seminar provided, not least from the contributions of Fineberg and Hoffman. 'Bisexuality' is the term used by H. Deutsch in *A Psychoanalytic Study of the Myth of Dionysos and Apollo: Two Variants of the Son–Mother Relationship*, New York 1969 and by F. I. Zeitlin in "Cultic Models of the Female: Rites of Dionysos and Demeter," *Arethusa* 15, 1982, 129–57. F. Frontisi-Ducroux and F. Lissarrague speak of the "alternation . . . between hypervirility . . . and the transcendence of sex" in "From Ambiguity to Ambivalence: A Dionysiac Excursion through the 'Anakreontic' Vases," in D. M. Halperin, J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin, eds., *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, Princeton 1990, 232 note 109.

satyr play *Theori* the god himself protests the satyrs' calumny, that he is a cowardly woman-man who is not counted as a male.² There is, indeed, "something feminine in his nature."³ Is this paradox, the effeminate god of the phallus, the phallic god of women, illusory, trivial, or quite central to the conception of the god and the nature of his cults? The subject can be examined under, roughly, three headings – iconography, myth, and cult.

Iconography

The contrast is between the environment of the god and the depiction of his person. It is largely in vase-painting, which as usual is mostly Attic, that he and his company are to be found. These scenes have been studied intensively, and I draw only on the most generally accepted conclusions.⁴ Dionysus' company consists of both females and males – nymphs and maenads (the former usually thought to give way to the latter in the course of the sixth century), and satyrs and silenoi. When the god is alone with the females the sexuality is not overt but latent, if we grant that the swirling dances of young and lovely superhuman women have sexual overtones (Fig. 4.1). When the satyrs too are in the scene they show by their arousal and their behavior

² Aesch. *Edoni* fr. 61 (*TGF*²), quoted by Ar. *Thesm.* 136, and *Theori* (or *Isthmistaie*) fr. 78a (*TGF*²). G. Devereux took the word χλοῦνης (solitary) in another fragment of the *Edoni* to be a reference to Dionysus as a eunuch. Cf. "Le fragment d'Eschyle 62 Nauck²: Ce qu'y signifie *chlounes*," *RÉG* 86, 1973, 271–84.

³ W. F. Otto, in *Dionysus Myth and Cult*, Bloomington, IA 1965, 175, explores this aspect of the god at some length, stressing Dionysus' love for women and theirs for him. He cites Philostr. *Imag.* 2.17.7, C. L. Kayser, *Flavii Filostrati opera*, Leipzig 1870, 367, 1–7: the Bacchant, ignoring the drunken Silenus who reaches for her, desires (ἐρῶσα) the absent Dionysus and sees him before her eyes. Otto's free rendering (177) is considerably more fervent and mystical. The relevance of this mutual eroticism for the Dionysus of earlier centuries is questionable, but it turns out that, in Otto's view, "true womanliness reveals itself in the slighter importance of sexual desire" when compared with men (178). He sees the maternal, nursing role of Dionysus' women as more significant. The relationship of Dionysus and his mother is also important for the very different, psychoanalytic perspectives of P. E. Slater, *The Glory of Hera: Greek Mythology and the Greek Family*, Boston 1968, and Deutsch 1969.

⁴ Cf. A. Rapp, "Die Maenade in griechischen Cultus, in der Kunst und Poesie," *RhM* 1872, 27, 1–22 and 562–611; L. B. Lawler, *The Maenads: A Contribution to the Study of Dance in Ancient Greece*, Rome 1927; M. W. Edwards, "The Representation of Maenads on Archaic Red-figure Vases," *JHS* 80, 1960, 78–87; S. McNally, "The Maenad in Early Greek Art," *Arethusa* 11, 1978, 101–36; T. H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art: Its Development in Black-figure Vase Painting*, Oxford 1986; A. Schöne, *Der Thiasos: Eine ikonographischer Untersuchung über das Gefolge des Dionysos in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Göteborg 1987. I omit the South Italian repertoire, in which I have the impression the languid, beardless Dionysus of the later Attic vases prevails.



Fig. 4.1 Dionysus, holding a *cantharus* (drinking cup) and vine branch, moves to the right among satyrs and nymphs. Two nymphs play *crotala* (castanets); one carries a bearded snake. Attic red-figure cup from the late sixth century BC. British Museum, London. Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

that they are not indifferent to their companions (Fig. 4.2). By the second quarter of the fifth century they are usually no longer shown with erections and are generally less enthusiastically indecent in their actions (Fig. 4.3). Perhaps it is worth remarking on what we all take for granted – there are only *male* satyrs. Even a detumescent satyr next to a woman or a nymph embodies male sexuality.⁵

The god, meanwhile, is never shown in art as involved in the satyrs' sexual shenanigans. He may dance, he may drink, but he is never paired with or shown taking any interest in any of the female companions of his rout. He

⁵ At the same time it is worth noting that only satyrs, not men (except in scenes of actual or anticipated intercourse), are shown with erections, a point Lin Foxhall has made to me. Truly human males, we are to understand, show self-control. The sexuality of satyrs, by contrast, does not need the presence of women for arousal, cf. F. Lissarrague, "The Sexual Life of Satyrs," in Halperin *et al.*, 1990, 53–81, a valuable study that, along with Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 1990, I was able to use only in the revision of this essay.



Fig. 4.2 A nymph resists the advances of two satyrs. The nymph, with a snake wrapped around her left arm, swings a *thyrsus* (wand) with her right. One satyr also holds a *thyrsus*, and both carry wineskins. Attic red-figure cup from the first quarter of the fifth century BC. Direktion der Staatlichen Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich.



Fig. 4.3 Dionysus, holding a *cantharus* and an ivy sprig, moves to the right, led by a satyr playing pipes. Three satyrs follow: one, infibulated, pesters a nymph; the last in the procession carries a pointed amphora on his shoulder and a drinking horn in his right hand. Attic red-figure cup from the first quarter of the fifth century BC. Direktion der Staatlichen Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich.



Fig. 4.4 A drunken Dionysus, naked except for Thracian boots and a cloak over his left shoulder, holds a *thyrsus* and a *cantharus* as he moves to the right in a procession of nymphs and satyrs. The nymph Methyse with a *barbiton* (lyre) leads the procession. The satyr Oinobios helps the god and is followed by the nymph Chryseis playing pipes and the satyr Maleos with a *cantharus* and wineskin. Attic red-figure bell krater from the mid fifth century BC. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

is not shown with an erection, but then gods almost never are, except for a single goat-headed Pan chasing a shepherd boy and the semi-iconic pillars of Hermes we call herms, which are shown with phalli at the right height in the archaic and early classical periods.⁶ What has not been remarked, as far as I know, is that before the change to a preference for a beardless Dionysus, the god's member is rarely shown, even at rest, though examples can be found (Fig. 4.4). In archaic art and for most of the fifth century

⁶ E. C. Keuls's statement that gods are never shown with an erection is too sweeping, cf. "Male-female Interaction in Fifth Century Dionysiac Ritual as Shown in Attic Vase Painting," *ZPE* 55, 1984, 291. The aesthetic preference for the small penis must also have been a factor, cf. K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, Cambridge, MA 1978, 125-7; F. Lissarrague, in Halperin *et al.* 1990, 56. The large penis and thus the phallus were comic and grotesque, inappropriate for beautiful and powerful gods. Pan: bell krater by the Pan Painter in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 10.185; ARV² 550.1; P. Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece*, Chicago 1988, Pl. 4.

Dionysus is a full-bearded, full-grown but youthful male, usually wearing an ankle-length *chiton* that covers his body completely, on top of which a *himation* or a deer skin or leopard skin may be draped. Even when he wears a shorter *chiton* his loins remain hidden.⁷ The contrast is not only with the satyrs in these scenes but with the representation of other male gods. Nudity is common both on vases and in sculpture, for Zeus, Poseidon, and especially for the beardless Apollo.⁸ The display of their bodies is consistent with their ostentatious masculinity. Dionysus, to be sure, fights in the ranks of the Olympians against Titans and Giants according to the mythographers (Diod. Sic. 3.74.6 and Apollod. 1.6.2), and in some vase-painting.⁹ But even though Dionysus, like all Greek gods, could be violent and dangerous, one suspects that the more characteristic images for the Greeks were the terrified Dionysus who takes refuge in the bosom of Thetis (Hom. *Il.* 6.135–7) and the cowardly, if comic, figure who “gilds” his elegant Ionic gown when confronted with the Hound of Hell in Aristophanes’ *Frogs* (479).

The dress itself is not a feminine garment. With jewelry in hair worn long it is part of the old-fashioned style of aristocratic Athenians of the archaic period. Other sixth-century depictions of male gods show a similar if simpler costume. Dionysus, however, continues to wear it long after it has been abandoned by the others. The saffron-dyed robe (κροκωτός) he is described as wearing in comedy has unmistakable feminine connotations.¹⁰

When the rendering of Dionysus changes from a bearded adult to a beardless youth in the later fifth century the god is shown wholly or partly naked, but, as if to compensate for the absence of the symbolism of dress, his whole image is now even less virile – a graceful, languid figure, a *παῖς καλός* (Fig. 4.5). This too may be suggested in Euripides’ depiction of Dionysus as the young stranger in the *Bacchae* (e.g., 451–60).¹¹

⁷ On his dress, see L. M. Stone, *Costume in Aristophanic Comedy*, New York 1981, 313–16; A. Veneri, “Dionysos,” *LIMC* III.1, 1986, 414–15; M. Miller, “The *ependytes* in Classical Athens,” *Hesperia* 58, 1989, 314–19; Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 1990, 23–31.

⁸ On the uses of nudity, see L. Bonfante, “Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art,” *AJA* 93, 1989, 543–70.

⁹ For the scenes on vases see F. Lissarrague, “Dionysos s’en va-t-en guerre,” in C. Bérard, C. Bron, and A. Pomari, eds., *Images et société en Grèce ancienne: l’iconographie comme méthode d’analyse*, Lausanne 1987, 111–20.

¹⁰ Cf. Arist. *Ran.* 46; Cratinus fr. 40 (PCG 4); and E. R. Dodds, *Euripides: Bacchae*, Oxford 1944, 453–4.

¹¹ A. Evans, in *The God of Ecstasy: Sex-Roles and the Madness of Dionysos*, New York 1988, 33 and cf. 134, is convinced that Dionysus tries to seduce Pentheus in this scene and is angered by the king’s rejection of him. The latter point is surely mistaken. The king’s fate is sealed by his opposition to the new cult. The god only toys with him. But Dionysus’ attractiveness as a love object is consistent with the later conception of him. The first, early appearance of the



Fig. 4.5 A beardless Dionysus with a lyre and Ariadne (?) move to the right, followed by Eros who strikes a *tympanon* (drum) as he hovers beside them. Dionysus carries a lyre, Ariadne a *tympanon*. Attic red-figure cup from the last quarter of the fifth century BC. British Museum, London. Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Dionysus' χιτών (tunic) is also seen on a cultic image in Athenian scenes of ritual. A trunk or pillar is set up, to which is fastened a mask (sometimes a pair, facing in opposite directions), and draped with a *chiton*, short or long (Fig. 4.6).¹² The image of Dionysus Eleuthereus set up in the theater in

beardless Dionysus is not effeminate, as is shown by T. Carpenter in "On the Beardless Dionysus," in T. Carpenter and C. Faraone, eds., *Masks of Dionysus*, New York 1993, 185–206. That is not the case when he reappears later in the century. (On this and other points I have profited from Carpenter's knowledgeable comments.)

¹² Cf. E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen*, Munich 1969, figs. 264–5, 274–5; E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary*, Madison, WI 1983, Pl. 32, fig. 2; LIMC s.v. "Dionysos," nos. 298–300. The most careful analysis of the vases depicting a pillar and the mask of Dionysus is by R. Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria: Athenian Iconography and Ritual*, Ann Arbor 1992, 134–8, who shows that they do not form a consistent group representing a single cult. Other Dionysiac rites, such as the Lenaia, the Choes, and private rituals, have been proposed.

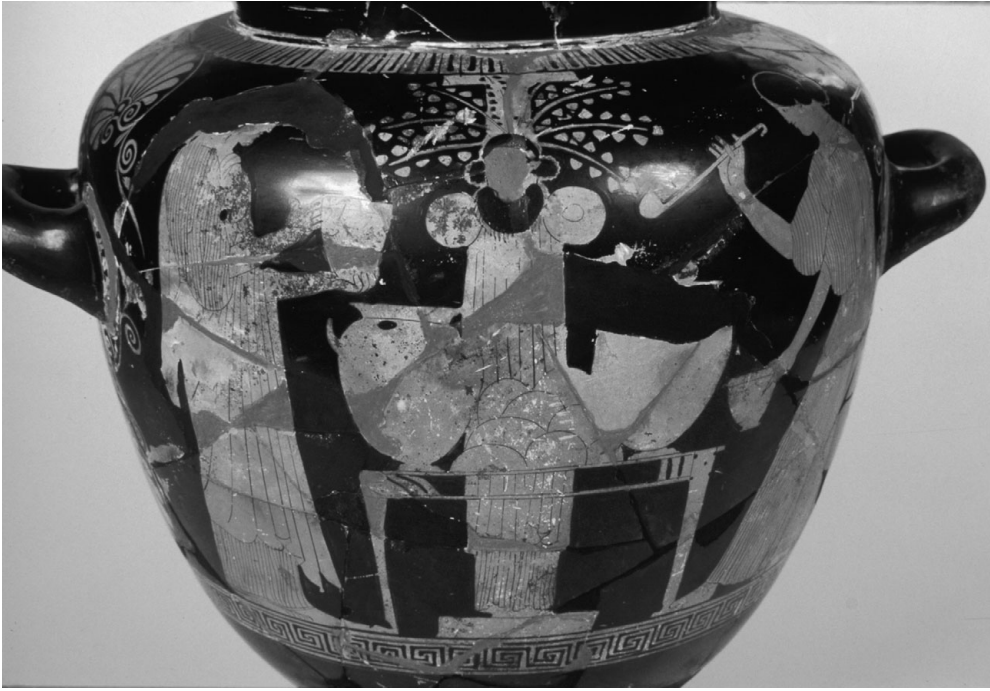


Fig. 4.6 Women celebrating in front of an image of Dionysus. The image comprises a mask affixed to a column above a *chiton* (tunic) and *himation* (cloak). A table with *stamnoi* (wine-jars) and loaves of bread (?) stands in front of the image. Both women hold drinking cups (*skyphoi*), and one prepares to fill hers with a ladle. Attic red-figure stamnos from the mid fifth century BC. Museo Archeologico, Florence.

Athens during the dithyrambic and dramatic performances may have been such a pillar topped with the god's head.¹³ The column or pillar with a head or simply a face is also found in the cults of Hermes and Zeus.¹⁴ But unlike the images of Hermes, the trunk of Dionysus on Attic vases never has a phallus, not even the quiescent penis of later herms.

Should these roughly cylindrical objects perhaps be seen in their entirety as phalli, personified by the addition of a face or head? The herm might then have been not only a representation of Hermes with a phallus attached but itself a large phallus. A difficulty is that stone versions in the cults of other gods are used for a variety of purposes, for not all of which is a phallic representation plausible. For Dionysus there are some suggestions

¹³ Cf. Simon 1969, figs. 263, 274.

¹⁴ Cf. M. P. Nilsson, *GGR*, 201–7; W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Cambridge, MA 1985, 85.

of phallic-shaped images outside of Attica. At Methymna on Lesbos there was a cult of Dionysus Phallen in which a wooden trunk with a face on it was carried in procession.¹⁵ On Rhodes Dionysus Thyonidas may have had this shape, and the Samians had a Dionysus Enorches, “with balls.”¹⁶ This is not enough, however, to show that the original representation of the god was a phallic figure that, in the course of time, came to be represented in more respectable form.

In Athens and on Delos the evidence for large, ceremonial or commemorative phalli is explicit, but the way they are shown as living creatures is by putting eyes on the head (the glans) and wings or animal legs at the base. The creature is not the god himself but may be Dionysus’ companion, Phallos.¹⁷ Should we then interpret the masked and draped trunk as an alternative phallic representation of the god? If so, it is a singularly discreet version in a cult that did not hesitate to exaggerate. In Attica at least we see once again a deliberate avoidance of an easy conflation of the two, god and phallus, and the choice of a neutral rendering.

Myth

Dionysus and Aphrodite seem a natural pair, representing as they do two of the great joys of life, the pleasures in particular of the symposium. Yet their contacts in mythical genealogy are minor. They are made a couple only for the parentage of the phallic god Priapus of Lampsacus and of the Charites at Orchomenus in Boeotia.¹⁸ The most vivid sexually charged conjoining is in Anacreon’s appeal to assist him in a homosexual conquest. Dionysus

¹⁵ Paus. 10.19.3: fishermen find a πρόσωπον (face or mask) of olive wood in their nets. Delphi tells them to worship Dionysus Phallen. They honor the ἑόανον (statue) and send a bronze version to Delphi. Cf. J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle: Its Responses and Operations*, Berkeley 1978, 347, no. Q241 (= H. W. Parke and D. E. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, Oxford 1956, no. 337): “perhaps genuine.” Cf. an inscription of Methymna, *IG* xii² 503; *BCH* 7, 1883, 37–41.

¹⁶ Hsch. s.vv. “Thyonidas” and “Enorches.” Cf. also Lycoph. 212. Devereux 1973 interprets the epithet Enorches as meaning “in the testicles” and compares Zeus’s sewing the unborn Dionysus in his thigh, an indirect reference to his genitals. Dionysus Choiropsalas, “Cunt-plucker” (?), at Sicyon suggests a lusty Dionysus (Polem. Hist., *FHG* 3.135.42).

¹⁷ Cf. Ar. *Ach.* 263. For illustrations, see E. Buschor, “Ein choregisches Denkmal,” *AthMitt* 53, 1928, 92–108 and L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, Pl. 22. An Attic lekythos, black-figure on white ground, shows a large, oblique phallus with an eye on the glans around which satyrs dance, *ABV* 505. 1; H. Metzger *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IV^e siècle*, Paris 1951, 49, Pl. 26, figs. 1–3; *LIMC* s.v. “Dionysos,” no. 153. This has been referred to as Dionysus Phallen (so Veneri 1986, 414–15), but the epithet is not Attic.

¹⁸ Priapus of Lampsacus: Paus. 9.31.2; Charites at Orchomenus in Boeotia: Serv. *Aen.* 1.720; cf. also [Orph.] *Hym.* 46.1–3 and 55.7, of the second century AD.

is the “Lord, with whom Eros the subduer, the dark-eyed Nymphs and bright-faced Aphrodite play.”¹⁹ For women, Aphrodite and Dionysus are contrasted: Pentheus charges the maenads with ranking Aphrodite before Dionysus, that is, it is for sex that they go to the mountains: Eur. *Bacch.* 225, though Dionysus himself has “the charm of Aphrodite in his eyes,” 236. Is there a divergence between an Ionic and an Attic tradition, or between an archaic and a classical? Is Dionysus the patron only of male love? Whatever the case, the potentially powerful image of Dionysus as a force corresponding to Aphrodite was little used.

Dionysus’ chief amorous attachment is to Ariadne, and while early versions of their relations may have followed the pattern of the god who loves and then is betrayed by a mortal (Hom. *Od.* 1.324), the later archaic and classical versions have him rescuing her when she has been abandoned by Theseus.²⁰ In art they are shown as the embodiment of the happy married couple (Fig. 4.5).²¹ While this relationship is hardly asexual, its gentle eroticism is a far cry from the violent swirl of the world of maenads and satyrs. This conjugal aspect of the god, which Eva Keuls has clarified most helpfully,²² has a ritual correlate in the annual marriage of Dionysus with the βασιλιννα or βασιλίσσα (queen), the wife of the Athenian archon known as the βασιλεύς (king), in the days of the festival of the Anthesteria. There were both open and secret phases. The *basilinna* was assisted by fourteen honored women (the γεραραί) appointed by the *basileus*. The queen performed rites “not to be spoken of” and saw what no one else should see, very likely referring to the handling of representations of sexual parts. The open aspect of the ceremonies was her passage from the god’s sanctuary “in the Marshes” to the *basileus*’ headquarters, the Boukoleion, where the marriage took place, cf. Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 3.5. The questions of what actually happened and what it may have meant have occasioned a good deal of discussion. Did the archon’s wife mate with a mortal man, her husband, or with the priest of Dionysus, perhaps masked and robed as Dionysus? Was the mating a symbolic ceremony, performed in the presence of an image of the god? Or was it purely the imagined consequence of public ceremonies such as the wedding procession, which may have used an impersonation of

¹⁹ Anacreon, *PMG* fr. 52 (= *PLG* fr. 2). ²⁰ Cf. Otto 1965, 185–6.

²¹ *LIMC* s.v. “Dionysos,” nos. 708–79 and the comments of Veneri 1986, 417–18. A red-figured *pelike* of the second quarter of the fourth century has a very sensuous scene of Ariadne and the beardless Dionysus on a bed (*LIMC* s.v. “Dionysos,” no. 762). The figure of Eros joins in Dionysiac scenes in the later fifth century as Dionysus becomes a youth (Lissarrague 1990, 66).

²² E. C. Keuls, “The Conjugal Side of the Dionysiac Ritual and Symbolism in the Fifth Century BC,” *Meded* 1982, 25–33.

the god? A number of vases have been cited as evidence for the event, but their connection with this wedding is at best indirect.²³ It is easier to reject than to confirm speculations. Thus, although the Anthesteria had elements of an All Souls festival, when the spirits of the dead returned, the cheerful depictions of the marriage or parodies of it do not allow us to suppose that a dark and sinister side to this ceremony prevailed and that it was seen as the marriage of a woman with the god of the dead.²⁴

The public part of the ritual imitates the bridal procession to the house of the groom, which marks the important social change whereby the woman moves from her paternal *oikos* to establish a new *oikos* with her husband. In

²³ The relevant vases are conveniently discussed in Deubner 1932, 104–10; M. Bieber, “Eros and Dionysos in Kerch Vases,” in *Commemorative Studies in Honor of T. L. Shear, Hesperia* Suppl. 8, 1949, 31–8 (though it is not clear that brides were initiated into Dionysiac mysteries); E. Simon, “Ein Anthesterien-Skyphos des Polygnotos,” *AntK* 6, 1963, 6–22; Simon 1983, 96–8; cf. Keuls 1984, 293–4. Three types of vases have been thought to refer to this wedding. (1) Vases showing a woman, apparently a bride, being led by a satyr or in the company of Dionysus himself; on one the woman is identified as Ariadne, but a connection with Athens has been seen in the presence of an attendant satyr carrying a *cantharus* and a *χοῦς* (pitcher), a reference to the Choes rite at the Anthesteria (Simon 1963, Pl. 5, 1, fragment of a calyx krater in Tübingen, no. 5439, “Group of Polygnotos”). (2) Vases showing a tipsy Dionysus (bearded, full grown, and nude); on one he is accompanied by a satyr boy carrying a *chous* while a woman seated on a bed awaits within (Simon 1963, Pl. 5, 3; Simon 1983, Pl. 31, 1; Keuls 1984, Pl. 20, 14; E. C. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens*, New York 1985, 374, fig. 307; calyx krater in the National Museum in Tarquinia, inv. no. RC 4197, “Group of Polygnotos,” ARV² 1057.96). (3) On an oinochoe in New York (Metropolitan Museum, 25.190) children seem to be preparing for Dionysus’ wedding procession: the god is seated on a decorated two-wheeled cart (he is bearded and carries a *cantharus*), and a male is about to help a female climb up to join him (Deubner 1932, Pl. 11, 2–4; Bieber 1949, Pl. 5, 1A and 1B; H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, London 1977, Pl. 44; Keuls 1984, Pl. 21, 24; LIMC s.v. “Dionysos,” no. 825). For group 1 it is not evident that the reference is to the *basilinna* rather than to Ariadne, but it is an attractive notion that the presence of a *chous* in the scene in which Ariadne is named serves to compare the Athenian rite at the Anthesteria with Ariadne’s wedding to the god. (But it is questionable whether we are to think of Theseus’ having to relinquish Ariadne to Dionysus as comparable to the *basileus* surrendering his wife to the god, as Simon 1983, 97, suggests. In the best-known version of the story Theseus abandons her.) R. Seaford, *Euripides: Cyclops*, Oxford 1984, 8, deduces from these vases that men masked and dressed as satyrs accompanied the *basilinna*. In group 2 we seem to have a “realistic” rendering of Dionysus coming home to a wife (but must it be a bride?) after carousing. An allusion to the Choes rite may be implied, but I do not see that we learn anything about the *basilinna*’s wedding. Is some theatrical scene the source? In group 3, the preparation for a procession would seem to be the most obvious rendering of the wedding, with an imagined or mimed Dionysus, but the scene has been excluded by A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, Berlin 1927 and by Simon 1983, 98. In the actual procession it is probable that no one represented the god. Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 3.5 says that “the σύμμιξις (mixing) with Dionysus takes place there [at the Boukoleion] and the marriage.” *Summeixis* is ceremonial meeting, not “mating” (so A. Wilhelm, “Summeixis,” *AnzÖstAkadWien* 74, 1937, 39–57; cf. P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford 1981, 104–5). This may suggest that they did not meet before.

²⁴ So, mistakenly, M. Daraki, *Dionysos*, Paris 1985, 80–1.

this rite, however, the move is from the temple to the headquarters of the *basileus* and not vice versa. The god is assimilated to the man. On the vases that have been connected with this wedding one sees the conjugal themes of the marriage of Dionysus and Ariadne but nothing overtly or symbolically sexual, even though actual weddings were not lacking in sexual allusions and symbolism (cf., for example, the end of Ar. *Pax*). The secret rites in which the *basilinna* engages as priestess suggest the controlled, covert sexuality of citizen marriage. Much of what we know of this sacred marriage comes from an allegation that a woman who did not meet the requirements of citizenship and purity had served as *basilinna* [Dem.] *Against Neaera* 73–5. It is a far cry from the exuberant phallicism of the Country and City Dionysia or the abandon of the maenads. The conjugal Dionysus' engagement in sex seems carefully edited – mythologically, a placid marriage with Ariadne; ritually, a blessing of the community's marriages through the annual assimilation of the marriage of the city's most ancient officer, the “king,” to that of the god, Dionysus.²⁵

What of Dionysus' extramarital adventures? The chorus of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* (1105–9) wonders if the king may be one of the children presented to a surprised Dionysus by some nymph with whom he disports on Helicon. No asexuality there, but I recall no other such allusions in either literature or art, though no doubt they can be found. A favorite theme of both literature and art is the pursuit by a god of an object of his lust; it would not be surprising if Dionysus had been cast in this role. Only one vase-painter seems to have tried to do so, on a single pot where the god and a youth chase each other around a neck amphora of ca. 470–460 BC.²⁶

²⁵ From the extensive literature on the subject, note especially Deubner 1932, 100–110; Parke 1977, 110–13; Simon 1983, 96–7. W. Burkert, *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, Berkeley 1983, 230–8, stresses restitution and fits this whole ritual into a context of the death, dispersion, reassembly, and revival of the god. He believes the god was represented by his mask fastened to a pillar and it was with this that the *basilinna* was thought to copulate. It is not clear that the mask and pillar have to do with this ceremony (most recently Simon 1983, 100–1, follows A. Frickenhaus, *Lenäenvasen*, *Winckelmannsprogramm* 77, Berlin 1912, in attributing all scenes with the mask and pillar to the Lenaia; Hamilton 1992 is skeptical of all identifications). I do not know that a woman who could be identified with the *basilinna* is ever shown alone with the mask and pillar. Hoffman 1989, 110, sees the whole ceremony as a social humiliation of the *basileus*, since he is cuckolded and his wife commits adultery. This is not possible. She *marries* the god in a public ceremony. Nothing in the references we have suggests any shame or humiliation.

²⁶ Cf. S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, “Die Liebe der Götter in der attischen Kunst des 5. Jhrs. v. C.,” *AntK-BH* 2, 1979, 12 and 80, no. 43, Pl. 5, 3–4: a neck amphora by the Alkimachos Painter in Naples (inv. 3050); ARV² 529.13; 470–460 BC. The god, bearded, wearing a *chiton*, carrying a *thyrsus* in his right hand and a vine branch and *cantharus* in his left, strides forward on one side; on the other a youth walks away from him while looking back and stretching out his hand.

The story in Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 2.30) that the use of phalli as monuments derives from Dionysus' promise to Prosymnos that he would offer himself for sex in return for directions to the entrance to Hades makes use of the "pathic" rather than the lustful conception of the god.

Cult

In art and in myth we have seen a god who is essentially detached from the erotic and passionate aspects of sex. In his cult, though there is much more than sex, the image of the phallus is central, however we may wish to explain it – as a celebration of the life force, as a charm for fertility, even as a symbol of life after death. (The apotropaic function of the phallus does not seem important in this cult.) Large and small renderings of the phallus were made especially for the Country Dionysia celebrated throughout Attica and were carried in public and private processions. For the City Dionysia the colonies of Athens were expected to bring phalli every year and no doubt to march with them in procession through the town and then to show them to the assembled Athenians and to the statue of the god in the theater of Dionysus.²⁷ Probably ceremonies of this sort were at one time quite widespread in Greece (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 527e). Delos certainly went to great expense to build and decorate a polychrome phallus every year, and we have mentioned the processional carrying of a phallic image of the god on Lesbos. These were the most blatant and enthusiastic demonstrations of sexuality, however metaphorical or symbolic, to be found in the ancient world. A cigar may sometimes be only a cigar, as Freud warned, but a phallus, I submit, is always a phallus.²⁸

These festivals are not said to have been restricted to men; Dicaeopolis in his private celebration of the Country Dionysia has his daughter carry the basket just ahead of the slave who carries the phallus, while his wife watches from the roof of the house (*Ar. Ach.* 247–79). But we do not hear of Dionysiac rites open to public view in which women carried or manipulated phalli. Herodotus, who was convinced the Greeks took their cult of Dionysus including the phallic procession, from the Egyptians, noted

²⁷ Cf. *IG* i³ 46 (= *IG* i² 45), 17.

²⁸ On the *phallogoria*, see S. G. Cole, "Procession and Celebration at the Dionysia," in R. Scodel, ed., *Theater and Society in the Classical World*, Ann Arbor 1993. On phallicism, see H. Herter, "Phallos," *RE* XIX, 1938, 1681–1748 and "Phallos," *Der kleine Pauly* 4 1972, 701–6; M. H. Jameson, *The Offering at Meals: Its Place in Greek Sacrifice*, Diss. Chicago 1949; M. Czaja, *Gods of Myth and Stone: Phallicism in Japanese Folk Religion*, New York 1974, is a fascinating study of phallic stones in Japan on which are often represented couples who are symbolically copulating.

that the Egyptian celebration lacked dancing and the phallus itself, instead of which women carried wooden figures whose large genitals they raised and lowered by means of cords (Hdt. 2.48–9.1). Although he did not point it out, we should add that, to the best of our knowledge, it was not women who carried the Greek counterpart, the phallus, in Dionysus' cult; it may be that he expected his readers to savor not only the bizarre puppets but the fact that women operated them.²⁹

In the closed women's cults of Demeter we hear of the use of representations of female and male sexual parts. Not only men recognized the necessity for the continuing vigor of phalli if the society was to continue, and while most Greek texts on procreation offered a male version in which the male is the dominant factor, the communal cults of Demeter and Kore and the private worship of Adonis helped to right the balance and put the phallus in its place, so to speak.³⁰ The Demeter cults in particular link the symbolism of human sexual vigor and fertility with that of agriculture. Dionysus, however, is not demonstrably concerned with fertility, agricultural or human, except in Neoplatonic theory (where the phallus appears as symbol of procreative power) and perhaps by virtue of a place in a Demeter cult.³¹ His

²⁹ Women would seem to be brought into close association with the phallus in a Dionysiac context through the ceremonial surrounding a phallus placed in a λίκνον, a basket used for winnowing grain and for carrying an infant; a mask of Dionysus is also shown in the *liknon*. Cf. K. Kerényi, *Dionysos: Archetypal Images of Indestructible Life*, London 1976, 260–1 and *passim*; and Slater 1968, 214, who sees the disembodied phallus as significant for “the deprived and resentful Greek matron.” But M. P. Nilsson, “Dionysus Liknites,” *BLund*, 1952, 1–18 argues that the representations of the *liknon* in ritual use are of Roman date, and denies that it was so used in earlier times. More significant may be the fact that what were evidently private rites, not conducted in public view, were not depicted earlier.

³⁰ A. C. Brumfield, *The Attic Festivals of Demeter and their Relation to the Agricultural Year*, New York 1981; Zeitlin 1982; J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece*, New York 1990, 188–209.

³¹ Iambl. *Myst.* 1.11 interprets the phallus as symbol of procreative power. For Dionysus' place in the cult of Demeter, see the learned writer excerpted in the scholia to Lucian *Dial. meret.* 7 (= H. Rabe, *Scholia in Lucianum*, Leipzig 1907, 279–81), who reports that the use of clay representations of male genitals in the festival of the Halos was explained as “a token of human generation (literally σπορά, ‘seeding’) since Dionysus gave us wine as a tonic drug that would promote intercourse” (Winkler 1990, 194). He then tells the story of the shepherds who killed Icarus under the influence of wine and attacked Dionysus. Afflicted apparently with satyriasis, they recovered only when they made dedications of clay phalli. “This festival is a memorial of their experience.” Nonetheless it does not seem that the Halos was a festival of Dionysus (Deubner 1932, 60–7; Brumfield 1981, 104–31). The story makes better sense as the αἴτιον (cause) of the Country Dionysia, also held in the month Posideion (but were clay phalli dedicated then?). Winkler 1990, 195–6, sees men and women separately “conducting a memorial rite representing some themes of sex and gender.” The scholar quoted in the scholion evidently saw a correspondence between male and female ritual use of genitalia. Dionysus had, from an early date, a place in the cults of Demeter that modern scholars have

festivals are agricultural only in their celebration of the vine. Aristophanes has Dicaeopolis, in the Dionysia “in the fields” (κατ’ ἀγρούς) that marks his joyful return to the countryside, give free rein to his erotic imagination, without a word on the god’s help with his land and crops (*Ach.* 247–79). At the risk of seeming pedantic, it is worth emphasizing that it is the broader symbolism of sexual ebullience and the new life of springtime that the god and his rites evoke. Sexuality here is much more than a sanitized convention or traditional magic for securing good crops.

The evidence of vase-painting, while far from transparent, rather supports our contention that in the cults of Dionysus the phallus is left to men. A number of vases show a naked woman holding a gigantic phallus or a phallus bird or examining a container of phalli, all animated by an eye on the glans.³² These women are no doubt ἐταῖραι (courtesans) like other naked women on vases, not citizen women, and the scenes do not refer to the community’s cults, if they have any cult reference at all. There is a unique scene of a clothed woman sprinkling something on to a row of phalloid plants springing from the ground.³³ We are in the dark about all these scenes, as we are for so much of what went on in the world of Greek women, but perhaps with these scenes we are not missing a great deal. Male artists are saying something about women to a largely male audience, probably that women are wonderfully impressed with the phallus, which is what men like to believe (we may compare the confidence of ancient pornographers in the importance of the dildo).³⁴ In any case, nothing shown in these scenes points to Dionysus. As far as we can see, overt, exuberant phallicism had no part in the Dionysiac cults of women.

tended to slight. But this is the only suggestion we have that Dionysiac cult was concerned with the procreative aspects of sex. The Country Dionysia are often assumed to be directed at the fertility of the countryside, a notion that is even harder to pin down.

³² E.g., (1) amphora by the Flying Angel Painter in Paris (Petit Palais 307), *ARV*² 279.2; Keuls 1985, 84, fig. 77; (2) fragment of a cup in Berlin; Deubner 1932, Pl. 3, fig. 2; (3) cup in the Villa Giulia, 50404, *ARV*² 1565.1; Deubner 1932, Pl. 4, fig. 1; Keuls 1985, 85, fig. 78; (4) column krater by the Pan Painter in Berlin; Deubner 1932, Pl. 4, fig. 2; (5) *pelike* in Syracuse (inv. 20065), *ARV*² 238.5; Keuls 1985, 84, fig. 76. Lissarrague 1990, 65–6, rightly concludes, after reviewing these scenes, that a woman associated with a phallus is not Dionysiac, and vice versa.

³³ Red-figure *pelike* in the British Museum (E 819) by the Washing Painter, *ARV*² 1137.25; Deubner 1932, 65–6 and Pl. 3, figs. 1 and 3; Winkler 1990, frontispiece. The scene has been associated with the Haloo, a Demeter festival (so Deubner). Winkler 1990, 206, describes it as “humorous fantasy not necessarily associated directly with the Adonia . . . but, illustrating the same cultural equation,” i.e., that women cultivate and bring to growth the fragile and short-lived vigor of men. I think, however, that Winkler was mistaken in supposing that the woman sprinkles water on the plants. The object she carries would not do for water, nor would such sprinkling induce growth. Something more fantastic may be involved – perhaps she scatters seeds, and instantly phalli spring up.

³⁴ Cf. Keuls 1985, 83.

Dionysus was also celebrated privately by means of κῶμοι, “routs” or “wild parties” at night, in the course of which wine flowed, social barriers were breached, and sexual indulgence was at least thought to occur.³⁵ One thinks of the Menandrian foundlings, the products of behavior otherwise proscribed. Ostensibly, however, these were occasions for men only (with of course whatever non-citizen women were wanted), while the women of the community had their own rites for the god in which men had limited roles or were excluded.

Maenadism, the withdrawal by women from the community to the mountains to engage in nighttime celebrations, known primarily from literary and artistic depictions, has been much debated – how much is imaginary, mythical, or symbolic, and how much corresponds to real life?³⁶ Ancients and moderns have been at pains to assure us that the expeditions of the women were entirely chaste.³⁷ It would certainly be surprising if Greek men, in view of their tight control of their women, had allowed them to go to the mountains with the expectation of sexual adventures. And yet it is not without significance that women indulging in wine at night and freed, however briefly, of social constraints were imagined as engaged in sex, as Pentheus repeatedly implies in the *Bacchae*. The situation is by its nature sexually charged. We might say that the communal Dionysia on the one hand and the mountain pilgrimage of the women on the other each emphasizes an aspect of human sexuality, the phallic and the female, and the two are brought together in the imagery of the satyrs and maenads seen on Attic vases. The enigma is the central figure of such scenes, the god who is

³⁵ A number of illustrations (the so-called Anacreontic vases) and some literary evidence point to the wearing of women’s clothes and jewelry at drinking parties. Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague’s article in 1990 (stressing the ambivalence of the self and the other which encompasses that of male and female) supersedes earlier studies, but cf. also K. De Vries, “East Meets West at Dinner,” *Expedition* 15, 1973, 32–9 and W. J. Slater, “Artemon and Anacreon: No Text without Context,” *Phoenix* 32, 1978, 185–94. S. O. Price, “Anacreontic Vases Reconsidered,” *GRBS* 31, 1990, 133–75 came to my attention too late for use in this study. In the worship of Dionysus through participation in the κῶμος the worshipers, like the god, play with sexual boundaries. Other occasions for cross-dressing in Greece are in rites of initiation and marriage when identities are changed and alien identities are briefly tried out.

³⁶ See especially A. Henrichs, “Greek Maenadism from Olympias to Messalina,” *HSCP* 82, 1978, 121–60 and J. Bremmer, “Greek Maenadism Reconsidered,” *ZPE* 55, 1984, 267–86.

³⁷ E.g., Eur. *Bacch.* 314–20, but cf. *Ion* 545–5. Devereux 1973 has no doubt that sexual orgasm, lesbian or heterosexual, was characteristic of most Bacchantes. Only the most accomplished women achieved a trance state without it. (His warning that we must not be misled by the obtuse messenger verges on the fallacy of Lady Macbeth’s children.) M. Detienne, “Un phallos pour Dionysos,” in G. Sissa and M. Detienne, eds., *La vie quotidienne des dieux*, Paris 1989, 261, on the other hand, denies that the erotic was for the Greeks a means of leaving oneself and becoming one with the god.

both male and female but isolated from the sexuality that flourishes all around him.

Dionysus the phallic god par excellence, is also more closely associated with the rites of women than any other male figure. The reasons for this have received considerable attention in recent years.³⁸ The god has been seen as a liberating figure in whose worship women found a temporary escape from male domination. There were probably also non-maenadic rites in which women played the only or the leading parts. But by their nature these were, like the women's rites for Demeter and Kore, secret and remain, therefore, obscure to us. We have seen an example in the sacred marriage of the Athenian *basilinna*. There were consequences for the structure of the god's cult. For him alone among male gods were there priestesses and numerous groups of women with various names (e.g., *gerarai* involved in the *basilinna*'s wedding).³⁹ An example from Attica is seen in the sacrificial calendar of the deme of Erchia in the second quarter of the fourth century BC. Dionysus and Semele received a billy goat and a nanny goat, respectively, on the 16th of the month Elaphebolion. The flesh of Semele's goat was handed over "to the women," while the skin of both animals belonged to the priestess.⁴⁰ In terms of social organization as well as cult participation we see a predominantly female side to Dionysus' worship, matching the predominantly male and phallic.

Conclusions

Two cautions are in order before we offer some conclusions. Looking for a consistent whole in the figure of a Greek god and worrying about seeming contradictions are, of course, essentially modern, not ancient, concerns. Furthermore we are able to attempt a reconstruction only for archaic and classical Athens, where alone there may have occurred the particular convergence and balance we think we can see. Dionysiac symbolism makes great play with the male member, on the one hand, and with the concept of liberated women, on the other. Sex may be incidental and not central to the meaning of Dionysus' cult, though our review makes that hard to believe, even if we do not go so far as to say with Keuls that "Dionysiac

³⁸ Cf. R. S. Kraemer, "Ecstasy and Possession: The Attraction of Women to the Cult of Dionysos," *HThR* 72, 1979, 55–80; C. Segal, *Dionysiac Poetics and Euripides' Bacchae*, Princeton 1982, 159; Zeitlin 1982.

³⁹ Cf. Otto 1965, 175; Henrichs 1978. ⁴⁰ *LSS* 18A, 44–51, 18A, 33–40; *SEG* 21, 541.

cult [was] centered around male–female confrontation.”⁴¹ But, in any case, his cult lends itself to a powerful nexus of signs. Violence and aggression are portrayed for both male and female, and yet at the center of the commotion stands a figure that presents features of softness, gentleness, and quiet. For women, I suggest, this is especially important. Aggression, the use of the phallus as a weapon, waxes and wanes in the scenes on Attic pots, and corresponding changes have been seen in Athenian society.⁴² But while a growing appreciation of conjugality and harmony between the sexes is shown in art, the hostile and aggressive side of male sexuality is not likely to have faded away.⁴³ While Dionysus presides over phallic cavortings, he remains detached sexually, except for his rescue of and marriage to Ariadne and his sanctification of the marriage of *basileus* and *basilinna*. The beardless youth of later classical art is still less a threatening and aggressive figure than his bearded predecessor.

To use what has become a cliché, Dionysus is a mediating figure between male and female, needed because the forces his cult releases arouse both men and women in ways that threaten order. The reasons for the development and persistent strength of his potentially explosive cult lie, no doubt, deep within the structure of Greek society, which contained both the psychological tensions of the nuclear family and the wider social and institutional stresses of the approved roles of women and men. Any particular instance of Dionysian activity is not likely to exhibit the full repertoire of elements that we attach to his cult, a construct that is in effect of our own making. Nor are release and resolution of the pressures his cult addresses always achieved, according to some neat, functional model. The most I have hoped to do in this essay is to examine some aspects of a varied and constantly changing pattern.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Keuls 1984, 288. ⁴² Cf. McNally 1978; Fineberg 1983.

⁴³ Cf. R. F. Sutton, *The Interaction between Men and Women Portrayed on Attic Red-Figure Pottery*, Diss. N. Carolina 1981, 107–8; Keuls 1985, 174–86; M. Kilmer, “Sexual Violence: Archaic Athens and the Recent Past,” in E. M. Craik, ed., *Owls to Athens: Essays on Classical Subjects Presented to Sir Kenneth Dover*, Oxford 1990. Kilmer compares scenes of sexual violence on Attic red-figure vases with an arbitrary selection of sadomasochistic scenes in European and Japanese art of the recent past to conclude that the Attic examples are relatively innocuous. I do not see that any useful conclusions are to be expected from such methods.

⁴⁴ No one has been more sensitive to the contradictions in the conception of the god than Slater 1968, 210–307. He noted “a quality of dissonance about the god” (211) and his “conglomerate and morphologically unstable character” (212). He also brought out that “even the boundaries between the sexes are to be dissolved.” “This,” he observed, “was perhaps one of the central psychological functions of the Dionysian cult – it provided the ultimate fantasy solution to the torment which sex antagonism occasioned in Greek life by eliminating the exaggerated

Two images may provide us with an appropriate conclusion: one is that of the embodiment of the epicene style of modern pop culture, the male leader of the pop group, who for all the violence of music, gestures, and words is neither traditionally masculine nor yet effeminate. To the established order he may be a threat but not to the adoring young, especially the young women. There is a fascination but also a certain horror about such a figure, who cannot be placed and straddles or crosses boundaries. The other image is that of Dionysus in the *Bacchae*, who draws Pentheus over a boundary as the king is led to make himself into a βακχη. In that play is there not some of this chilling fascination about Dionysus too, whose gender puzzles Pentheus and who moves quietly between the raucous worlds of the male and the female?

differentiation imposed by culturally defined sex roles” (283–4). Segal 1982, 213, who cites this last passage, rightly notes that in the *Bacchae* sexual differentiation is reinforced rather than eliminated and that tragedy by its nature is not concerned with such resolution. Indeed, it could be said that cult and myth in other forms as well may provide opportunities for demonstration and exploration rather than resolution. And yet the recurrent theme of the unclassifiable god seems always to be available as a palliative. It should be added that Slater, who emphasizes the obscuring of boundaries between mother and child and the mother’s ambivalence toward child and phallus (conceived of as an isolated object and depicted as the member of depersonalized, inhuman satyrs), sees no resolution of “the Greek cultural sickness” by this route.

PART II



Rites



Introduction

CHRISTOPHER A. FARAONE

Michael Jameson was an excellent example of an endangered species in the field of classics: a generalist who mastered a number of different and difficult methodologies and was interested in every aspect of Greek antiquity.¹ Widely known as an epigraphist, historian, and archaeologist, Jameson was, for example, deeply interested in Greek poetry, especially Homer and tragedy,² as well as in Greek vase-painting and sculpture.³ He continually reiterated the point that, because we have so little evidence for Greek antiquity, we must look at all of it and examine it closely.

This dictum is nicely illustrated by all four of the articles collected in this section under the rubric “Rites.” In “Sacrifice before Battle,” for example, Jameson gives a thorough discussion of the various kinds of pre-battle sacrifice. At the end of his introduction, he writes: “One of the ways in which we hope to penetrate behind the screen presented by prose sources is through the images and metaphors of poetry and through the myths and fictionalized history that serve as aetiologies and analogies to the rites. We need also to consider the evidence of artistic representation of ritual in which the selection and emphasis throw certain elements into relief.”⁴ In the essay itself, Jameson draws from an impressive array of prose and poetic sources – mainly tragic – to produce a thick and rich description of what happened during a series of animal sacrifices that preceded warfare. There were two basic types: the usual burnt sacrifice, after which the army cooked and ate the remaining parts of the animal, and the σφάγια, a sacrifice usually performed at the battle line and facing the enemy or their territory. In the latter case, the throat of the sacrificial victim (usually a small animal such as

¹ Mike Jameson was a formidable and brilliant teacher. I studied closely with him in the 1980s at Stanford University, where he was the second reader of my dissertation.

² It may come as a surprise to some that Jameson, at the very start of his long scholarly career, translated Sophocles’ *Trachiniae* for the famous Lattimore and Grene translations – a series that is still fairly widely used in American colleges (see Cartledge, this volume p. xxi).

³ In the margins of our seminar papers and dissertation chapters we, his students at Stanford, would often find the scribbled refrains: “Look at everything!” or “Have you checked to see what is illustrated on the coins?” or “What about the Siphnian treasury at Delphi?”

⁴ M. H. Jameson, “Sacrifice before Battle,” in V. D. Hanson, ed., *Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience*, London and New York 1991, 200 (chapter 6 this volume, pp. 98–126).

a goat or sheep) was slit and the meat of the victim was not shared in a meal. By laying out all of the evidence and ignoring no pre-battle sacrificial rite, Jameson is able to show some important areas of intersection, for example: the victims of most pre-battle sacrifices, both normal burnt sacrifice and σφάγια, were used for divinatory purposes regarding the approaching battle.

For most scholars the battle-line σφάγια remain the most interesting and the most puzzling. Jameson discusses Jane Harrison's attempt to connect them with purification rituals, such as those held before each meeting of the Athenian assembly, when officials would slit the throat of a pig and carry the bleeding carcass around the perimeter of the meeting area.⁵ Others have tried to connect it with Hittite and Indic scapegoat rituals, during which an animal is driven out of the camp of one army into that of the enemy army.⁶ Jameson argues persuasively against both parallels and instead sees the rites as *heiligen Handlungen* (powerful actions) that represent and focus the army on its desired goal: as the soldier slits the throat of the animal, he symbolically expresses the idea that the army will perform the same act every time they stab an enemy soldier in the imminent battle. This is a persuasive line of argument because it emphasizes (as others have not) the clear relationship between the sacrificial victims and the enemy soldiers. Jameson points out, for example, that in the few illustrations of this sacrifice in vase-paintings the victim is always male (a ram) and that the soldier kills the animal with his own battle sword, not any special sacrificial knife.⁷ This interpretation could, in fact, be pushed a bit further into the realm of functional or persuasive magic: just as the soldier kills the goat in a single fatal stroke, so too, the ritual guarantees or at least expresses a collective desire that all of the soldiers will slay their opponents in the approaching battle. A similar kind of magical action lies behind the treatment of animals at oath ceremonies, where (for example in the *Iliad*) the victims' throats were slit and then removed for burial or thrown into the sea.⁸

In "Sophocles' *Antigone* 1005–1022: An Illustration," Jameson offers a close and entirely persuasive reading of a vase-painting in the Hermitage,

⁵ Jameson 1991, 212. ⁶ Jameson 1991, 208.

⁷ That the slaughter of the σφάγια victim prefigures the death of each enemy soldier is, perhaps, also reflected in the vow made by the Athenians before the battle of Marathon that, if victorious, they would commemorate their victory by sacrificing one goat to Artemis Agrotera for each of the enemy slain. See Jameson 1991, 210 (chapter 6 this volume, pp. 98–126).

⁸ See C. A. Faraone, "Molten Wax, Spilt Wine and Mutilated Animals: Sympathetic Magic in Early Greek and Near Eastern Oath Ceremonies," *JHS* 113, 1993, 60–80. In oath ceremonies the horrible fate of the slain animal prefigures that of the person who dared to break his oath. The curses attached to oaths are, of course, conditional, and the battle-line σφάγια are not.

St. Petersburg, which shows some phase of an animal sacrifice performed on an altar surrounded by participants and observers. Jameson had discovered this vase many years earlier, during his dissertation research on animal sacrifice, because he was following his dictum: “Look at everything!” The uniqueness of the scene fired his curiosity, taking him on a long quest that eventually led to the discovery that the vase illustrated a scene described by Tiresias at the end of the *Antigone*. Crucial to this discovery was another important and practical habit of Jameson’s research method, one that over time led him to a long-standing relationship with a butcher in San Jose, who taught Jameson all about the anatomy of domestic animals and who supplied him with various animal innards and bones for his “sacrificial research” on a small grill in his yard in Palo Alto. Jameson usually ended his graduate seminars on religion or epigraphy by inviting the students over for a barbecue at his home, a feast that began – as was only appropriate – by taking the omens from an oxtail and by squeezing the juice of a gall bladder on to the fire, which resulted in bright flashes of color apparently caused by the mineral content of the bile. This all had an electric effect on his students, because it made these kinds of divination palpable in a manner that no written account ever could. His practical experiments with the gall bladder, in fact, eventually led him to recognize that the central officiant in the vase-painting in St. Petersburg was squeezing the juice of a gall bladder over the fire.⁹

Jameson’s interest in art and knowledge of the abattoir come neatly into play in another article in this section, “The Ritual of the Athena Nike Parapet.” It concerns the thrice-repeated scene of a winged Nike in the act of killing a bull. Arguing with his usual fearlessness against the foremost art historians of his day – J. J. Pollitt and E. Simon in the first (1994) version of the paper, and T. Hölscher in the present revision – Jameson shows how in the case of these sculptures, at least, detailed knowledge of Greek ritual is crucial to interpretation. There is no doubt that his interpretation of the scene as a battle-line σφάγια is correct, especially since it draws together the two scenes on the parapet sculptures in a manner that neither Simon or Hölscher were able to do. Jameson argues that these two different sets of images – victory goddesses slitting the throats of bulls and victory goddesses setting up war trophies – go together well, because they represent the beginning and the

⁹ I must confess that we took a page out of Jameson’s book a few years ago, when my colleague Bruce Lincoln and I, as part of a graduate seminar in ancient divination at the University of Chicago, placed a whole calf’s liver on the seminar table and attempted, with the enthusiastic help of our students, to put into practice the arcane discipline that is illustrated on the bronze liver from Piacenza.

end of the battle. Here, too, the parallelism can be pushed further, because the bulls and the trophies both represent the fate of the enemy, who is slaughtered proleptically in one ritual and nailed down in the other. This is clear enough in the scene where a Nike slits the throat of a bull, which (as Jameson demonstrates) recalls the traditional σφάγια at the line of battle discussed earlier. The trophy also seems to have been a persuasively magical image of the enemy and, like the σφάγια, it was placed at an important dividing line between the two armies: at the point where the enemy was turned and the rout began. The trophy itself, an armless (in both senses) humanoid figure, usually consisted of a suit of enemy armor nailed to a post. Onians, commenting on the image of Nike on a fourth-century Syracusan coin driving a nail into the head of a trophy (*LIMC* no. 631), suggested long ago that each trophy was “an effigy of the vanquished” and that the act of nailing was “an expression of irreversible rout or destruction.”¹⁰ But he, too, I think misses the performative and persuasive purpose of the nailing, which aims at affecting the future, rather than reflecting the past: the trophy is designed to prevent the enemy from ever attacking again. This is clear from the nailing and binding of images in classical Athens and elsewhere in Greece.¹¹ In the only well-preserved example on the temple parapet, a Nike is shown placing the helmet over the top of the post (*LIMC* no. 160). This is a gentler act, perhaps, but one that still associates Nike with the creation of the effigy and with the other classical images of her nailing the head of the trophy. These sculptures, in short, show Nike in the act of two very important magical rituals, one at the start of the battle, the other at the end, and both designed to kill or incapacitate the enemy.

The last essay in this section, “Theoxenia,” is more limited in its use of literary and poetic evidence, but especially rich in its combination of epigraphic evidence and iconographic data from vase-paintings and small votive reliefs. As he does in “Sacrifice before Battle,” Jameson offers a magisterial survey of all of the evidence for the offering of meals on tables to gods and heroes, who are themselves sometimes represented by statues or figurines seated on couches and thrones. Unlike earlier treatments, however, Jameson’s includes detailed discussions of similar practices, such as

¹⁰ R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought*, Cambridge 1951, 374–6. He links the image with that on an Etruscan mirror depicting *Athrpa* (= Atropos) driving a nail into the head of Meleager that “dooms” him like the curse of his mother in the *Iliad*. For a similar image closer in time and place to the Nike Temple reliefs, see the red-figured *pelike* in Boston, which depicts Nike twisting a nail into the face of a helmet propped on a pole (*LIMC* no. 159). On a fourth-century coin from Lampsacus (*LIMC* no. 167) she uses a hammer.

¹¹ For a full catalogue and discussion, see C. A. Faraone, “Binding and Burying the Forces of Evil: The Defensive Use of ‘Voodoo Dolls’ in Ancient Greece,” *ClAnt* 10, 1991, 165–205.

the popular proscriptions in the *leges sacrae* against removing meat from the sanctuary. Here, too, although his somewhat guarded conclusions may disappoint some readers, they again arise out of his honest evaluation of all the evidence and its limitations, as well as his forthright discussions of the undeniable contradictions that arise when one assembles the full set of data. Both “Theoxenia” and “Sacrifice before Battle” are classic articles, which have not, as far as I can tell, been superseded and therefore will be the starting point for any future work on these two important rituals, because they contain the fullest – one might even say most exhaustive – assemblage of the evidence for these rites and the most thoughtful and informed discussion of them.

Antigone has been led away to be entombed alive. The chorus has sung of other famous persons who were imprisoned cruelly. Now Tiresias the blind seer enters, led by a boy. He warns Creon that the king stands “on the razor’s edge of fate,” as he will understand when he has heard the signs (σημεία) of Tiresias’ art. The seer had first listened to the voices of the birds and had heard ill-omened, senseless screeching and the sound of their murderous attacks upon each other:

Forthwith, in fear, I essayed burnt-sacrifice on a duly kindled altar: but from my offerings the Fire-god showed no flame; a dank moisture, oozing from the thigh-flesh, trickled forth upon the embers, and smoked, and sputtered; the gall (χολαί) was scattered to the air; and the streaming thighs lay bared of the fat that had been wrapped around them. Such was the failure of the rites by which I vainly asked a sign, as from this boy I learned; for he is my guide, as I am guide to others. And ’tis thy counsel that hath brought this sickness on our state. For the altars of our city and of our hearths have been tainted, one and all, by birds and dogs, with carrion from the hapless corpse, the son of Oedipus: and therefore the gods no more accept prayer and sacrifice at our hands, or the flame of meat-offering; nor doth any bird give a clear sign by its shrill cry, for they have tasted the fatness of a slain man’s blood. (1005–1022, tr. Jebb)

A red-figure calyx-krater by the Cleophon Painter in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad shows a scene of sacrifice on the principal face A (Fig. 5.1).¹ The scene consists of two groups of figures. To the right is a bearded man, wearing a *himation* (cloak) and, like all the figures in this scene, with a band around his head. He stands on a step on the left side

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¹ B. 1658 (formerly 774, L. Stephani, *Compte-rendu de la commission impériale archéologique pour l’année 1868*, Leningrad 1869, 1636; ARV², 1144, 14; Stephani 1869, 129–69, Pl. VI; K. S. Gorbunova and A. A. Peredolskaya, *Mastera grecheskikh raspisnykh Vaz (Masters of Greek Decorated Vases)*, Leningrad 1961, 93–5, no. 45 and 94, Pl. A; A. A. Peredolskaya, *Krasnofigurniye Atticheskiye Vazy v Ermitazhe (Red-figure Attic Vases in the Hermitage)*, Leningrad 1967, 184–5, no. 211 and Pl. 143.1–3.



Fig. 5.1 Red-figure calyx-krater (A) by the Cleophon painter; second half of the fifth century BC. Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.

of an altar. With his left hand he makes a gesture, with his right he holds a round object over the altar. To the right of the altar a naked boy holds a double spit, with a small bundle of innards (σπλάγχνα) at the end, over the flames.² Behind the altar is a taller youth, wearing a *himation* rolled down to his waist, who carries a flat tray with (probably) a flat, rectangular cake upon it. All three figures on the right of the scene seem to look towards what the bearded figure officiating at the altar holds in his right hand, though the boy holding the spit may be intent on the innards he is roasting which are also in his line of sight.

² Scenes showing a σπλάγχνομπτης, a roaster of innards, are collected and discussed by G. Rizza, “Una nuova pelike a figure rosse e lo ‘Splanchnoptes’ di Stypax,” *ASAtene* 37–8, 1959–60, 321–45. On σπλάγχνα (innards), in sacrifice, see P. Stengel, *Opferbrauche der Griechen*, Leipzig and Berlin 1910, 73–91; L. Ziehen, s.v. “Opfer,” *RE* XVIII, 616–19. Interpretation of their significance remains disputed.

On the left side of the scene there are three figures, all bearded men wearing *himatia* (cloaks) and holding staves. The first from the altar is standing, leaning on his staff. The next is seated, apparently on a rock or a pile of rocks, and holds his staff with both hands. The third, behind him, is again standing and leaning on his staff. There is a tree in the background, behind the seated man. The two standing men look at what is happening at the altar. The first stretches his right hand forward, a gesture which seems to suggest his interest and, in terms of composition, ties the group on the left to that on the right.³ The seated man alone seems detached, even while facing the altar.

There are at least two unusual features about this scene: first, the object held over the altar; second, the division of the scene into two groups, the one on the right active, that on the left passive with a central, seated figure, also unique in such representations.

There is a large number of Attic vases showing the stage in the animal sacrifice when, after the victim has been dedicated, killed and cut up, the burning of some of the animal on the altar is about to take place or is already in progress. By far the most numerous of these are concerned with that specific moment when omens are taken from the behavior of the ox-tail in the fire. With the heat of the flames the tip of the tail turns up and the whole tail forms a curve, as seen for instance on a red-figure stamnos in London (Fig. 5.2).⁴ Twenty-eight examples can be identified and no doubt there are others that have not been recognized.⁵ Although misunderstanding persists, it has long been realized that the curved object in these scenes is

³ So Gorbunova and Peredolskaya 1961.

⁴ By Polygnotos, in the British Museum (E455 A; ARV² 1028, 9; no. 11 in the following footnote). A useful collection of these scenes is in Rizza 1959–60.

⁵ For reasons of space I give only one reference for each vase: (1) ARV² 117, 2. (2) ABL, 226, 8. (3) ABL, 226, 6. (4) Agora Museum, Athens, P 9273, cat. no. 1495, M. Z. P. Philippides and M. B. Moore, *The Athenian Agora, XXIII: The Black-figured Pottery*, Athens 1986, Pl. 101. (5) ARV² 170, 3, The Winchester Painter. (6) ARV² 225, 3. (7) ARV² 472, 210. (8) ARV² 559, 152. (9) *Auktion XXII.13 Mai 1961*, Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Basel, 93 no. 173 and Pl. 58, I. (10) O. Benndorf, *Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder*, Berlin 1883, 44–5, Pl. 27.3. (11) ARV² 1028, 9. (12) ARV² 1028, 10. (13) ARV² 1051, 17. (14) ARV² 1079, 3, Painter of London E494, name vase. (15) ARV² 1124, 2. (16) ARV² 1684–1124, 4bis, *pelike* of the Academy Painter in Catania. (17) ARV² 1145, 26. (18) ARV² 1146, 48, M. Miller, “The *ependytes* in Classical Athens,” *Hesperia* 58, 1989, 321, 53c. (19) ARV² 1158, IVa. (20) ARV² 1182, 2. (21) ARV² 1184, 1. (22) ARV² 1190, 25. (23) ARV² 1190, 26. (24) ARV² 1214, 2, The Kraipale Painter. (25) ARV² 1214, 3. (26) M. H. R. Pereira, *Greek Vases in Portugal*, Coimbra 1962, 72–7, Pls. 35–7. (27) G. Pesce, *NotScav* 59, 1935, 226–7, Pl. 18.1. (28) O. Jahn, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung . . . in der Pinakothek zu München*, Munich 1854, 1022. To these may be added the tail taken from an altar in the hand of a satyr on a cup by the Brygos Painter in the British Museum (E65: ARV² 370, 13 A) and the only non-Attic example known to me, a Locrian tablet in P. Zancani Montuoro, *RivIstArch* 8, 1940, Pl.1.



Fig. 5.2 Red-figure stamnos (A) by Polygnotus; 450–430 BC. British Museum, London. Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

the tail, οὐρά, κέρκος, or ὀσφῦς.⁶ In *Ar. Pax* 1054–5, Trygaeus and then the slave, while sacrificing to Peace, remark: “The tail (κέρκος) is doing

⁶ See the vertebrae in the very realistic drawing in ARV² 1079, 3; E. M. Hooker, “The Sanctuary and Altar of Chryse in Attic Red-figure Vase-paintings of the Late Fifth and Early Fourth Centuries BC,” *JHS* 70, 1950, 36, fig. 1 and *JDAI* 86, 1971, 140, fig. 10; Compare this with the base of the tail of the live bull on the bell-krater by the Berlin Painter in Tarquinia, ARV² 206, 126A; *JHS* 31, 1911, Pl. 10, 2. This was correctly identified by Benndorf 1883, with whom Beazley agreed in “The Excavations at Al Mina, Suedia, III. The Red-figured Vases,” *JHS* 59, 1939, 16–17. But some others have seen a horn, a hook or a piece of equipment for cooking, e.g. H. Metzger, *Recherches sur l’imagerie athénienne*, Paris 1965, 114. It is regrettable that Erika Simon has recently claimed, à propos of the tail held by a satyr (ARV² 370, 13 A) that it and all other representations of the curved object are tongues: “Satyr-plays on Vases in the Time of Aeschylus,” in D. Kurtz and B. Sparkes, eds., *The Eye of Greece: Studies in the Art of Athens*, Cambridge 1982, 126–7 and Pl. 30a. Further passages on the burning of the tail: Pherecrates fr. 23 Kock, Eubulus fr. 130, Men. fr. 117.5 Körte, *Etym. Magn.* 468.25, s.v. ἱερὸν ὀστοῦν (the codex Sorbonicus specifies four bones, i.e., vertebrae, were set [on the altar] in sacrifice; cf. *Etym. Gud.* 273.10–18). Only the base of the spine, without meat, is burnt with the tail; hence τὴν ὀσφῦν κομιδῇ ψιλὴν (the entirely smooth tail – Pherecrates) and ὀσφῦς ἄκρα (the end of the tail – Menander). When ὀσφῦς is used in *leges sacrae* of portions to be awarded to men, the portion is higher up the spine with good meat attached (*LSS* 93.1). Cf. *Etym. Magn.* 636.23–5 on the ὀσφῦς as the lower third of the spine. The phrase μακράν | ὀσφῦν (long chine: Aesch. *PV* 497), in



Fig. 5.3 Ox-tail burnt on a wood fire. Photograph by the author.

beautifully. – By our Lady Peace, just beautifully!” The Scholiast explains: “The tail (οὐρά) gives good signs. They had the custom of putting the chine (ὀσφῦς: here, the base of the spine) and the tail (κέρκος) on the fire, and by certain signs (σημεῖα) from them, they could tell if the sacrifice was acceptable, and they took certain other signs as being tokens of what they were sacrificing about.”⁷

Experiment has shown that an intact ox-tail placed on a hot fire will indeed rise and curve as shown on the vase paintings (Fig. 5.3). I have yet to encounter a tail that would not behave in this presumably auspicious manner. But no doubt significance was read into the particular curve that appeared.⁸

There are half-a-dozen scenes on vases that seem to show a moment in the sacrificial procedure before anything has been put on the fire,⁹ and another eight in which the σπλάγχνα are being roasted but no tail is to be

which the adjective has been suspected by D. L. Page, *Aeschylus Prometheus Bound*, OCT 1972, can be taken as the part placed on the fire, the base of the spine with the tail; cf. G. Hermann, *Aeschyli Tragoediae*², Berlin 1859.

⁷ See also Schol. Ar. Pax 1053 on the word ὀσφῦς. G. M. A. Richter, in G. H. Chase and M. Z. Pease, CVA, *United States*, vol. 8, *The Fogg Museum and Gallatin Collections*, Cambridge, MA 1942, 94, made the essential reference to the scholium. Cf. also Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1257 (p. 380, 9–11 Schwartz; the verse may not in fact refer to the tail).

⁸ A brief account of my experiments is in “The Omen of the Ox-Tail,” *Scientific American* 214.2, 1966, 54. Anthony D. Jameson and John T. Jameson were most helpful in these experiments.

⁹ (1) ARV² 1683 for pp. 1113–16, 31bis. (2) ARV² 965. (3) ARV² 1190, 24. (4) ARV² 1333, 12. (5) ARV² 1334, 13. (6) ARV² 1334, 15. These are all late, the last three by the Nikias Painter.

seen.¹⁰ In all three types of scene (before the tail, with the tail or without the tail) reference to libation is usual, apparently onto the tail when that is present. The officiant, when something is being deposited or has just been deposited, makes the distinctive gesture, seen in Figs. 5.1 and 5.2, in which the left hand is held open with the thumb up.¹¹ On the Hermitage krater we see no tail,¹² and no cup or jug to suggest libation, but the σπλάγχνα are being roasted and the officiant makes the gesture. Our scene, therefore, shows approximately the same stage in the sacrifice as when the omens are taken from the tail, and the action evokes the same interest in the spectators. But something other than the tail is receiving their attention.

What then is being held above the altar and what is its significance? I suggest the gall bladder, which we know was normally burnt. Prometheus, in describing his gift of the mantic art to mankind, speaks of explaining dreams, chance utterances, meetings on the road, the behavior of birds and:

... the smoothness of the innards (σπλάγχνα) and what color of the bile (χολή) would be pleasing to the gods, and the variegated shapeliness of the liver's lobe. The leg-bones covered with fat and the long chine (ὀσφύς, i.e., the base of the spine with the tail) I burnt and set men on the path to the difficult art of interpretation, and I made them see the flaming signs (σήματα) to which they had been blind before. (Aesch. *PV* 496–7)

Innards, gall bladder (the container of the bile), liver, leg-bones in fat and the base of the spine with the tail: these are used for divination, and of them the gall bladder, the bones in the fat and the tail are actually put in the fire.¹³ In our passage from the *Antigone*, Tiresias attends to the birds, then

¹⁰ (1) J. F. Crome, *AthMitt* 60–1, 1935–6, Pl. 108. (2–4) *ABV* 536, 35–7. (5) *ARV*² 551, 15. (6) *ARV*² 797, 142. (7) *ARV*² 1069, 2, oinochoe by the Thomson Painter in Oxford. (8) *ARV*² 1334, 14.

¹¹ It seems to have been immaterial whether the arm was held up or down, close to the body or outstretched. Some version of this gesture is to be seen in the following scenes listed in [note 5](#) above: nos. 1, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16(?), 18 (Cleophon Painter), 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26(?), 27. The gesture, described as used for prayer, appears under four classifications in T. McNiven, *Gestures in Attic Vase Painting: Use and Meaning, 550–450 BC*, Diss. Michigan 1982, 70, 75, 83, 85.

¹² The upper left part of the altar was damaged and restored clumsily and incorrectly so that the wood pile projects too far to the left. But it seems unlikely that the artist, having chosen to depict an altar with a gable on the side facing the viewer, intended to show the tail.

¹³ In addition to the *Antigone* and *Prometheus* passages, see Men. fr. 117.6 Körte, *Adesp.* fr. 1205 Kock, *CAF* III, 606, and the observation that the χολή was not to be burnt for Hera, Plut. *Mor.* 141E and *Daed.* 2 (= *Mor.* fr. 157.2 Sandbach). The position of the gall bladder in relation to the liver (Eur. *El.* 827–9) or the presence of more than one gall bladder (Plut. *Arat.* 43.2–3) could also be significant. There are several references to divination from the gall bladder in the scholia to Eur. *Phoen.* 1256–7, “they observed the burstings (ῥήξεις) ... how it shot the



Fig. 5.4 Hand holding an ox's gall-bladder.
Photograph by the author.

turns to sacrifice only to learn that the bones and fat will not burn and the bile is spattered in mid-air. The officiant on the Hermitage krater holds his fingers over a round object as if to squeeze it.¹⁴ Once again experiment has proved useful. An ox's gall bladder has the right shape (Fig. 5.4), and when squeezed the bile can be directed in a thin stream. When directed on to a burning fire the stream appears purplish and greenish. Instead of the usual auspicious scene of the vigorously curving tail here we have essentially the same setting but with all eyes on the bile as it is squeezed on to the fire on the altar.¹⁵

moisture (ὕγρότητ') up." The scholiast (379, 20–2 Schwartz) understands the gall bladder to have been deposited in the fire and to have burst from the heat. It is unclear whether Euripides' "burstings" refer to the gall bladder rather than the shooting of the flames or even, as another scholiast (379, 23–5) supposes, to the urinary bladder, tied with wool and placed in the fire.

¹⁴ The object has been described by Stephani 1869, 30 as a small "muschelgeförmige" (mussel-shaped) vessel from which incense is probably poured, or as reminiscent of an aryballos from which wine and oil is being poured. See Gorbunova and Peredolskaya 1961, who speak of some of the liquid pouring along the external wall of the altar. No such vessel is to be found in other sacrificial scenes and the aryballos shape was rare in classical Athens; none have been found in the Agora excavations: B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora, XII: Black and Plain Pottery of the Sixth, Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC*, Princeton 1970, 152, n. 10.

¹⁵ Three other Attic vases might appear to show the gall bladder or some other organ: (1) *ABL* 226, 8 where the officiant holds a round object, larger than that on the Hermitage krater, over the fire on which a tail is burning. Two thick streams of liquid pour from it onto the fire. This seems most likely to be a cup from which wine is being poured. (2) *ARV*² 117, 2 (see Metzger 1965, Pl. 47), where the officiant is about to deposit an oblong object on the fire while a boy holds a tray with the tail on it. The shape and size of the object are not of a gall bladder; it is perhaps a roll of fat, also to be seen on the fire together with the tail in *ARV*² 1079, 3: cf.

Some years ago I had reached this stage of the analysis but only a recent chance visit to Leningrad brought further understanding. The second unusual feature of the scene is the division into two groups with the second, on the left, centered on the seated figure. This group has sometimes been referred to as Athenian citizens conversing together and the whole scene as a “family sacrifice.”¹⁶ But there are no indications that they are conversing together. The standing men observe intently the omens to be obtained from what I believe is the gall bladder, while the central seated figure seems, as I have said, detached, isolated. Coming unexpectedly upon the vase itself, this viewer immediately felt that the central figure was blind and that the artist had caught uncannily the stillness of a blind participant in a gathering of the sighted. That, to be sure, was a vivid but subjective impression. It has proved, however, to be accurate.

If the central figure in the left-hand group is blind may he not be Tiresias and the whole scene an illustration of that described in the *Antigone*? The play was evidently a great success when it was produced and an ancient tradition saw in its popularity the reason for Sophocles’ election to the generalship in 441/440 BC.¹⁷ The Cleophon Painter’s career spanned the years 440–410, this vase being dated to 440–430 by Peredolskaya¹⁸ and to 420–10 by Gualandi.¹⁹ A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster identified seven Attic illustrations of Sophocles, though none of the *Antigone*.²⁰ This vase, however, has a claim to dramatic connections. The secondary face B (Fig. 5.5) shows a maenad, dressed in a *chiton* (tunic) and cloak and holding a *thyrsus* (wand), flanked by two silenoi dressed in *himatia* and carrying staves.²¹ Now, clothed silenoi belong to satyr plays, not the state of nature,

Hooker 1950, 36, fig. 1. (3) ARV² 1190, 24, where the officiant holds a large bumpy object, described by E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, Paris 1897–1922, 279, G496 and Pl. 152 as “un viscère de la victime (foie ou poumon), touché de ton jauni” (an organ of the victim (liver or lung) with a yellow tone). But the gesture of the youth who holds a large jug up to it suggests that it is a clumsily rendered phiale of metal – hence the color and the bumps; cf. D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Silver Plate*, London 1966, 80–3.

¹⁶ Stephani 1869, cf. Gorbunova and Peredolskaya 1961.

¹⁷ Hypothesis of Aristophanes to *Antigone*; Androton, *FGrH* 324, Fr. 38; W. M. Calder III, “Sophocles’ Political Tragedy *Antigone*,” *GRBS* 9, 1969, 389–90, reaffirms Wilamowitz’s date of 443 for the play. J. C. Kamerbeek, *The Plays of Sophocles, III. The Antigone*, Leiden 1978, 36, believes 442 is most likely.

¹⁸ Peredolskaya 1967, 185.

¹⁹ G. Gualandi, “Il pittore di Kleophon,” *Arte Antica e Moderna* 5.20, 1962, 356. Four of the 68 vases attributed to this painter by Beazley, ARV² 1145–7, relate to sacrifice, including 1145, 26 and 1146, 48.

²⁰ A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama*, London 1971, 63–71.

²¹ Peredolskaya 1967, 185 and Pl. 143.4.



Fig. 5.5 Face B of calyx-krater in Fig. 5.1.

as Brommer pointed out.²² They may hint at the dramatic character of the scene on the principal face.

The decisive point only became known to me when Charles H. Sword, Jr. was kind enough to translate the Russian of Peredolskaya's careful description of the vase. It was evidently reconstituted from fragments. On face B the lower half of the face, neck and left shoulder of the maenad were restored. On face A the upper left side of the altar *and the eye of the seated man* were restored.²³ This minute observation of modern repainting in the midst of an otherwise undamaged section of the vase indicates that the single eye of the seated man's face in profile had originally been rendered in a way that offended the restorer. The Cleophon Painter had drawn a blind eye.

²² *Satyroi*, Würzburg 1937, 59–60. Another krater of the Cleophon Painter has a silenos in a *himation* with two maenads on one side (B) and a dithyrambic chorus on the other (A), ARV² 1145, 35; Trendall and Webster 1971, 25.1.17 (A).

²³ Peredolskaya 1967, 185.

Earlier in the century the blind Phineus on the vases of three different artists had his eye rendered with a single, very slightly curved line.²⁴ The more complex treatment of the eye by the Cleophon Painter and his contemporaries required more strokes.²⁵ The essential addition by the restorer was probably the addition of a dot for the pupil to match the other eyes on the vase.

To summarize, this unique scene is an adaptation of the popular rendering of a significant moment in sacrifice, the taking of omens from the behavior of the tail. Tiresias cannot officiate himself. Another has deposited the parts and now squeezes the gall bladder which he holds above the flames. The artist has selected but one item from the poet's account of the failed sacrifice. The officiant and the four other observers watch intently and will soon describe what they see to Tiresias, who will then be led to Creon to deliver his devastating interpretation. It is a quiet scene, but it portends the climax of the play and the ruin of the king.²⁶

²⁴ P. Blome, "Das gestörte Mahl des Phineus auf einer Lekythos des Sapphomalers," *AntK* 21, 1978, Pl. 19.1, 20.3 and 5. G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst*, Berlin 1965, 79, fig. 37.

²⁵ For the eyes of the Cleophon Painter, see illustrations to Gualandi 1962, and F. Felten, *Thanatos- und Kleophonmaler*, Munich 1971, esp. 110–14.

²⁶ Inspiration from drama has been seen in two groups of sacrificial scenes: G. Pinney and B. Ridgway, "Heracles at the Ends of the Earth," *JHS* 101, 1981, 143–4, with reference to Heracles sacrificing in *ARV*² 117, 2 and *ABV* 226, 6. Hooker 1950, 35–41, saw the influence of Euripides' lost *Philoctetes* on a number of vases, including *ARV*² 1079, 3. H. Froning, however, in *Dithyrambos und Vasenmalerei in Athen*, *Beiträge zur Archäologie* 2, Würzburg 1971, 52–66, prefers a dithyrambic production as a source.

6 | Sacrifice before Battle

*It is with the gods' help that wise
commanders launch an attack,
never against their wishes.*
Euripides *Erechtheus* fr. 352, TGF²

For the Greeks no undertaking was without its appropriate ritual, giving assurance of approval or, at the least, the withholding of hostility on the part of the supernatural. In war, where human life, pride, and prosperity were uniquely at risk, ritual was so conspicuous that it became the paradigm for other human activities. So Xenophon has Socrates say, “You see men at war appeasing the gods before they engage in battle and asking by means of sacrifices and omens what they ought to do. Do you think we should propitiate the gods any the less when we come to engage in farming?” (*Oec.* 5.19–20). Indeed, every stage of the process that led up to a clash of hoplite phalanxes on the field of battle was marked by attention to the gods. Victor Hanson, writing on the Greek way of war, has brought out vividly the grim reality of the fighting, but he chose not to treat there the supernatural dimension.¹ The aim of this essay is to complete the picture, in colors that will perhaps seem no less lurid than those used to describe combat itself.

For the earliest stages in the sequence of rites we look to the Spartans who offer the fullest examples of religious practice in warfare, though other cities certainly followed the same procedures, no doubt less rigidly and with their own distinctive practices. Once the Spartans had reached a decision on a campaign, the king, who was to lead the expedition, sacrificed in his house to Zeus *Agetor* (who leads out) and other gods associated with him. If the signs observed in this sacrifice were favorable, the πυρφόρος (fire-bearer) carried fire from the altar to the border of the land, where the king sacrificed to Zeus and Athena and, if the signs once again permitted, crossed

Originally published in V. D. Hanson, ed., *Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience*, London 1991, 197–227.

¹ V. D. Hanson, *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece*, New York 1989, 2nd edn. Berkeley 2009.

the border with the army (Xen. *Lac.* 13.2–3).² When the army marched out it was accompanied by a flock of sacrificial sheep, led by goats (Paus. 9.13.4). These were the most common sacrificial victims and could keep up with the army in its march over the mountainous borders of Greece. Before crossing any river or the sea, sacrifices were made and favorable signs looked for in order to continue.

On the march sacrifices were performed frequently, perhaps every morning and certainly before every important undertaking such as building a fort (Xen. *Hell.* 4.7.7) or attacking a town (*Hell.* 3.1.17), but no more than three victims a day could be assayed (*Hell.* 6.4.16 and 19).³ The advisability of meeting the enemy at any particular place and time was always verified through signs derived from sacrifice. When the two forces were drawn up and facing each other, a final sacrifice was made in front of the battle-line. As the lines advanced against each other, the chant known as the *παῖάν* was raised, to the accompaniment – at least for the Spartans – of the shrill reed instrument, the *αὐλός*.⁴ After victory, the winning side (no specific ritual is mentioned for the defeated) set up a trophy and performed thanksgiving and victory sacrifices to which might be joined athletic contests (Xen. *An.* 5.5.5, Arrian *An.* 5.29.1, 6.28.3, 7.14.1). The Spartans are said to have limited the victims at their victory celebrations to a single, symbolic rooster (Plut. *Ages.* 33, *Marc.* 22).

Clearly, we know a great deal about what was done but there is disagreement on its meaning. The ostensible purpose of all rites before victory was achieved was to obtain from the gods favorable signs (*καλλιιερεῖν*, from the phrase *καλὰ τὰ ἱερά*) for the next step in the campaign. Modern commentators, after a period when skeptical rationalism prevailed, have tended to be impressed by the Greeks' faith, their strict adherence to the signals they received through sacrifices and the rarity of cases in which the gods' advice was ignored or proved false.⁵ However, examples of successful action *contrary* to negative signs are not likely to be reported in our sources. Most often both sides began fighting in the belief that, as far as the gods were concerned, there were no obstacles to their success (cf. Diod. Sic. 15.85.1)

² Cf. Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90F.103 z.14, on the *πυρφόρος*. The king also performed other sacrifices at the border, Xen. *Hell.* 3.43.

³ T. Szymanski, *Sacrificia Graecorum in Bellis Militaria*, Diss. Marburg 1908, 76–7. Virtually all the relevant ancient passages are presented and discussed in this useful work.

⁴ W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, vol. 1, Berkeley 1971, 105–8.

⁵ E.g., R. Lonis, "Guerre et religion en Grèce à l'époque classique," in *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 238, Paris 1979, 102–3, and H. Popp, *Die Einwirkung von Vorzeichen, Opfern und Festen auf die Kriegführung der Griechen im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Diss. Erlangen 1957, 39–73.

and, since few engagements ended in a draw, one side was almost always doomed to disappointment.

Our sources describe dramatic delays while waiting for the signs to be favorable, and the disastrous error of proceeding when the signs were unfavorable is noted (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.36), but we are never given an explanation of defeat despite fair signs. The defeated survivors were left to explain to themselves why things went wrong, as are all participants in systems of prediction, and like other such systems this one appears to have remained unshaken, at least through the fourth century BC, notwithstanding what must have been a high percentage of failures.⁶

More meanings were certainly embedded in the ritual acts accompanying warfare than were articulated in the limited viewpoints of our various sources. As always in the study of classical life, we are to some extent the prisoners of our evidence. Some modern attempts to go beyond the explicit motives reported in ancient literature have been sweeping and striking. Thus, the armed force has been described as a consecrated band,⁷ and the entire process from the decision for war through victory in battle has been compared to the chain of ritual actions in the performance of a single sacrifice.⁸

In hesitating to embrace such bold formulations I would note that neither the nature of the evidence nor the analysis that has been made of it is sufficiently unambiguous that we can dispense with a study of details, and unfortunately even that must be partial. For instance, by limiting ourselves to what happened before the battle we omit the celebrations after the battle, which have been interpreted as a reintegration of the community, comparable to a sacrificial feast.

A point that has often been made is that the propitiation of the gods, in addition to the seeking of omens of the outcome, is implicit in all the ritual.⁹ So the society embarking on war ensures its good relations with the city's

⁶ Lonis 1979, 102 sees the men who fought and died at Thermopylae as an exception to the rule that battle was not engaged unless the signs were favorable. In this case there was no alternative (Hdt. 7.219). True enough, but it was evident, after the fact, that neither human nor supernatural prognosis could have been anything but negative once the Greeks had been taken in the rear. The gods were not thought to have been mistaken about this glorious defeat. But who was to say what the signs had really shown? W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, vol. 3, Berkeley 1979, 89–90, discusses the Greek acceptance of failure in terms of the unexpectedness of supernatural action.

⁷ S. Eitrem, "Mantis und Sphagia," *SymbOslo* 18, 1953, 9.

⁸ W. Burkert, *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrifice and Myth*, Berkeley 1983, 46–8, 64–6, followed by W. R. Connor, "Early Greek Land Warfare as Symbolic Expression," *Past and Present* 119, 1988, 22–3.

⁹ E.g. Lonis 1979, 109; Pritchett 1979, 87–8.

gods and conforms to their wishes, moving forward only when the sacrificial signs permit. Normal sacrificial ritual predominates: as mentioned, the Spartan army's herd was mainly sheep, the most common victim for routine sacrifice (Paus. 9.13.4), and the Spartan kings received their usual perquisites of skins and chins of animals while on campaign (Hdt. 6.56).

Our prose sources, whether faithful or selective, pedestrian or imaginative, largely offer the social view of the rites of warfare; they show the relationship of the community and the army, as a community, to its gods. The darker forces that hover over the battlefield, the terror of death and the pain the fighters must confront, are out of sight.

From poetry, however, we can see that they were an integral part of the conception of war. In the archaic *Shield of Heracles* there is a description of men fighting to defend a walled town:

these . . . were engaged in battle: and behind them the dusky Fates (Κῆρες), gnashing their white fangs, lowering, grim, bloody, and unapproachable, struggled for those who were falling, for they all were longing to drink dark blood. So soon as they caught a man overthrown or falling newly wounded, one of them would clasp her great claws about him, and his soul would go down to Hades and chilly Tartarus. And when they had satisfied their souls with human blood, they would cast that one behind them, and rush back again into the tumult and the fray. (Hes. [Sc.] 248–57)¹⁰

It is to the embodiment of fear, Phobos, that Theseus is said to have sacrificed before engaging the Amazons in battle (Plut. *Thes.* 27.3). So too, we are told, did Alexander before engaging Darius, as well as performing certain sacred rites not to be spoken of (Plut. *Alex.* 31. 3).

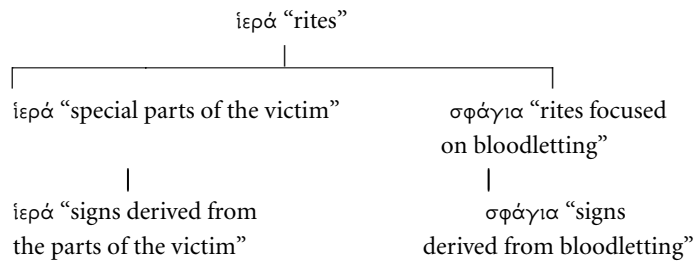
One of the ways in which we may hope to penetrate behind the screen presented by the prose sources is through the images and metaphors of poetry and through myths and fictionalized history that serve as aetiologies and analogies to the rites. We need also to consider the evidence of artistic representation of ritual in which the selection and emphasis throw certain elements into relief. But our first and constant task is to pay heed to the vocabulary of Greek ritual, distinguishing its categories and observing apparent overlaps and contradictions. Differences of language and deviations in practice may correspond to genuine ambiguities and gradations in the meanings of the rites and may not be solely the result of fossilized survivals, later misunderstandings, or mere carelessness.

¹⁰ Translation by Hugh G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homeric*, Cambridge, MA 1936. This passage and others are discussed by Eitrem 1953, 16–18.

Ritual distinctions

Modern scholarship sees a major division in Greek ritual between the terms *ἱερά* and *σφάγια*. The distinction, though it may not be as sharp as is sometimes claimed, is central to the discussion of military ritual. *ἱερά*, in a sacrificial context, is used in both a broader sense, as “rites,” and in certain more restricted meanings, especially for parts of the sacrificial victim that are burnt on the altar or examined for signs, and for the signs that emerge from examination. The broader sense, “rites,” covers a variety of practices including *σφάγια*. The noun *σφάγια* (usually used in this plural form) is cognate with the verb *σφάζειν* (or *σφάττειν*), “to pierce the throat.”¹¹ This action, described by this verb, is the way almost all sacrificial victims are killed. From *σφάγια* is formed another verb, *σφαγιάζεσθαι*, “to perform *σφάγια*.” All the words from this root, it has been well said, make one think of blood.¹² *Σφάγια*, like *ἱερά*, may denote either rites (in this case of more specialized character) or the signs obtained from the rites.

Schematically the relationships may be shown as follows:



Σφάγια and related words, with their focus on bloodletting, seem to be contrasted with normal sacrifice, commonly referred to by the most general verb for sacrifice, *θύειν* (or *θυέσθαι*, in the middle voice) and implicit in the more particular meanings of *ἱερά*. In the course of a normal sacrifice signs

¹¹ Representations in art of the actual killing of an animal are confined to *σφάγια*, either the sacrifice before the battle-line or mythical human sacrifice. For the latter, see J.-L. Durand, “Greek Animals: Toward a Typology of Edible Bodies,” in M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, eds., *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks*, Chicago 1989, 91. In the former a sword or knife is driven down into the neck of the victim (see Fig. 6.1). This would seem to confirm the interpretation of P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, Leipzig and Berlin 1910, 92–102, 123–35 (who, however, uses illustrations of widely different dates and origins), and of L. Ziehen, “Sphagia,” *RE* IIIA, 1929, 1670, that *σφάζειν* refers to piercing, not cutting.

¹² Stengel 1910a, 92. For the language of sacrifice, see J. Rudhardt, *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte dans la Grèce classique*, Geneva 1958, and J. Casabona, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en grec des origines à la fin de l'époque classique*, Aix-en-Provence 1966, on overlapping categories 330–9.

are taken, specific parts are burnt on an altar and the flesh of the victim is available for human consumption.

For σφάγια, however, a sacrificial fire is irrelevant, and therefore no altar is needed. Furthermore the flesh of the victim is not eaten by men. The concentration of the language of σφάγια on the act of killing and the blood that spurts out from under the blade is in contrast with the subordination – not absence – of these aspects in normal sacrifice. (The act of killing there too can be referred to as σφάζειν.)

Σφάγια is used in a number of situations such as oath-taking, some types of purification, certain rites for the dead or for heroes, and the assuaging of winds (e.g., Xen. *An.* 4.5.4), as well as the crossing of rivers by an army and the final rite in front of the battle-lines. In all or most of these there appears to be an absence of the normal give-and-take between men and gods, while there is instead heightened tension among men, concentration on a single purpose and an awareness of the presence of disruptive, anti-social forces. These rites have been characterized as “*heilige Handlungen*,” which may be freely rendered as “powerful actions.”¹³

The terminology of both types of sacrifice is found in the ritual of warfare. Following the Spartan examples, on which we are best informed, the pattern can be outlined as follows:

at home, before departure:	normal
at borders:	normal
at rivers, at the sea:	σφάγια
camp-ground sacrifice:	normal
battle-line sacrifice:	σφάγια

Rites of crossing

The crossing of borders and the crossing of rivers and the sea would seem to be similar actions. The term διαβατήρια is used for the border-crossing rites, and cognate words (the verb διαβαίνειν, “to cross,” etc.), though not the term itself, are used for crossing rivers and the sea.¹⁴ But while the border rites are consistently spoken of as the object of the verbs θύειν or θύεσθαι,

¹³ Cf. A. D. Nock, “The Cult of Heroes,” *HThR* 37, 1944, 158 (but destruction of the body, included in his definition, is not relevant to military *sphagia*), and M. H. Jameson, “Sacrifice and Ritual: Greece,” in M. Grant and R. Kitzinger, eds., *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome*, vol. 2, New York 1988, 973–5.

¹⁴ Διαβατήρια are attested only for the Spartans, with the single exception of a reference to the legendary Heraclidae attacking Sparta (ὑπερβατήρια, Polyaeus *Strat.* 1.10).

that is, as normal sacrifice (e.g. Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.7, 4.7.2, 5.4.47 etc.), and in one case Zeus and Athena are specified as the gods to whom the sacrifices are directed (Xen. *Lac.* 13.3), the crossing of rivers or the sea required favorable signs derived from σφάγια, at least according to our earlier sources (Aesch. *Sept.* 377–9, Hdt. 6.76 and Xen. *An.* 4.3.17). By contrast, in Arrian's account of three crossings by Alexander the Great, the language is that of normal sacrifice, although Arrian, or rather his sources, knew of σφάγια performed for Poseidon at sea (1.11.6) and when a fleet was about to sail (6.19.5), neither of which, however, are said to have produced signs.

The borders of a polis territory clearly constituted an important division between two kinds of space and were in some sense sacred. One may compare the expulsion of the homicide and polluted objects beyond the state's boundaries.¹⁵ But borders were not usually thought of as having their own tutelary spirits. The Athenian ephebes took as witnesses to their oath various named gods who were followed by "the borders (ὅροι) of the fatherland, the wheat, the barley, the vines, the olive trees, the fig trees."¹⁶ Though included among the θεοί, they are not personalized. Instead we hear of major gods, Apollo and Zeus, with the epithet ὅριος (of the borders).¹⁷ While elsewhere simple ceremonies may have sufficed for appeasement of local forces, for the Spartans the regular transit of the army over the borders had resulted in normal sacrifice to verify the continued approval of two central figures of the polity, Zeus and Athena (cf. Plut. *Lyc.* 6.1), of whom Zeus at least had already received sacrifice from the king at home (Xen. *Lac.* 13.2–3).

In contrast to the shadowy conception of the borders as supernatural forces, river gods were widespread in Greece. Although there is only a single instance of a deity being named in connection with the crossing rites (the Spartan king Cleomenes supposes the river Erasinus protects the Argives when the σφάγια are not favorable, Hdt. 6.76), well-delineated figures needed to be acknowledged when a crossing was made. Rivers and the sea had their distinctive mode of recognition. On the island of Myconos, in an annual sacrifice for the river Acheloeus, the throats of eight lambs were pierced (σ[φάτ]τετ[αι]) so that the blood would flow into the river, while three other victims, a full-grown sheep and two lambs, were killed for him at an altar (Dittenberger, *SIG*³ 1024, 36–7). The same conspicuous use of blood is indicated for the sacrifice performed before crossing water

¹⁵ On testimonia for inanimate objects, see D. M. MacDowell, *Athenian Homicide Law*, Manchester 1963, 85–6.

¹⁶ Tod 2, 204, line 19; *SEG* XVI 140, P. Siewert, "The Ephebic Oath in Fifth-century Athens," *JHS* 97, 1977, 103.

¹⁷ Apollo Horius: Paus. 2.35.2 (Hermion in the Peloponnese); Zeus Horius: H. Schwabl, "Zeus," *RE* Suppl. XV, 1978, 1469; in Attica he may have been concerned only with local boundaries.

(cf. Xen. *An.* 4.3.17 and, in an ostensibly Persian rite, Hdt. 7.113–14, the Magi slaughtering white horses at the river Strymon). In normal sacrifice the blood spurted over the altar or was caught in a vessel (e.g., *Od.* 3.444), but language and art did not call attention to this part of the procedure. Σφάγια at rivers or the sea focused on the killing and the flowing of blood, liquid into liquid (at least when Greek rivers were true to their element and not dry gullies). Through this action signs of divine response were obtained that permitted or prevented the army's crossing.

Herodotus in his description of the sacrifice at the river Strymon speaks of the Magi as φαρμακεύσαντες, “having performed magical rites” (7.113–14), which seems to be a characterization of a foreign practice; such language never appears in descriptions of Greek versions of the rite. For an army making a potentially dangerous crossing in foreign territory, neither the use of an altar for the burning of parts, nor the meal that followed would usually have been feasible. But there was nothing about the nature of the god that prevented normal sacrifice as shown by the prescriptions on Myconos, mentioned above, where the flow of blood into the river is combined with sacrifice at an altar and, presumably, consumption of the meat.¹⁸

Normal sacrifice and σφάγια were used for divination and unfavorable signs stopped the progress of an expedition. Herodotus, in both passages cited above, uses the term for signs obtained by normal sacrifice (καλλιέρειν). Xenophon, more precisely, speaks of the σφάγια as being καλά. The σφάγια at rivers were, in effect, a more limited and concentrated version of normal sacrifice, dictated by the circumstances, the aims, and the nature of the supernatural force addressed.¹⁹

Battle-line sacrifice

After a routine of normal sacrifices on the march or in the camp ground, though these may have been compressed because of the circumstances

¹⁸ It is not necessary to suppose with J. von Prott, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, fasc.I, *Fasti Sacri*, Leipzig 1896, 18, that the animals killed at the river were thrown in and so unavailable for consumption.

¹⁹ In Alexander's campaigns as recorded by Arrian the language of normal sacrifice was used for all river crossings. It has been suggested, Szymanski 1908, 31, that there had been a shift from understanding the rite as propitiation of a river god (by means of σφάγια) to a normal sacrifice to higher gods with observation of signs of their approval. Perhaps in foreign parts and in ignorance of the particular local god, the seers recommended consultation of familiar gods without the pouring of blood into the river. Arrian, incidentally, also reports two sacrifices, evidently of the normal type, *after* successful crossings, and for these he uses the term διαβατήρια, earlier attested only for the sacrifice before crossing the borders of Laconia (1.4.5, 5.8.2).

(e.g. with the meal following the sacrifice omitted or postponed), came the final rite before the two armies clashed, the “battle-line sacrifice” consistently described in terms of σφάγια. It might be performed when time was very short. Once, we are told, the enemy was 600 ft (182 m) away (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.20), another time in sight, some two miles (3.2 km) distant (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.8). The most circumstantial account is the only one in Thucydides, in his description of the first battle at Syracuse (415 BC):

Nicias, having thus exhorted his men, led them at once to the charge . . . On this occasion [the Syracusans] were compelled to make a hasty defense, for they never imagined the Athenians would begin the attack. Nevertheless they took up their arms and immediately went forward to meet them. For a while the throwers of stones, and slingers, and archers skirmished in front of the two armies, driving one another before them after the manner of light-armed troops. The soothsayers (μάντις) brought out the customary victims (σφάγια . . . τὰ νομιζόμενα), and the trumpets sounded and called the infantry to the charge. The two armies advanced. (Thuc. 6.69.1–2)²⁰

What was done in this short time, at an arbitrary location and in a charged atmosphere? A victim, of course, was killed and most of our references clearly state that signs were taken (e.g. Hdt. 6.112.1, before the charge at Marathon). In two cases, at least, the passage in Thucydides just cited, and Xen. *An.* 6.5.7–8, the sacrificers are the seers, the μάντις, whose only function was the interpretation of signs. This needs to be stressed because there has been a tendency to play down the divinatory function of the battle-line σφάγια.²¹ The taking of signs does not exhaust the meaning of

²⁰ Tr. Jowett. As has been frequently pointed out, it is the massed advance of the hoplites that waits on the performance of *sphagia*. The light-armed are already engaged. But to conclude that σφάγια were limited to pitched battle, παράταξις, as does Pritchett 1979, 88–9, goes too far. Xenophon explicitly performs σφάγια before racing to help a foraging party that has been set upon by natives (*An.* 6.4.25). Any serious fighting required σφάγια. The fluid, tentative testing of the light-armed did not count.

²¹ So no less an authority than Pritchett 1971, 110: “Σφάγια were not necessarily, if at all, for divination purposes,” and Pritchett 1979, 87. Delays resulting from unpropitious σφάγια (Hdt. 9.61–2) and references to their coming out favorably with the *first* victim (Xen. *An.* 6.5.8) show unmistakably that signs were an essential feature of the rite. Pritchett 1971, 113 understands the phrase, “The σφάγια are good (καλά, or the like),” as “merely to mean that the sacrifice went well,” but then goes on to say that this “could be deduced from many things, the flow of the blood etc.” which I would understand as a form of divination. It should be noted that references to the preceding sacrifices on the march or in the camp ground also often omit reference to the results (e.g. Xen. *An.* 4.6.13, *Hell.* 5.4.49). In his later study of the subject, Pritchett 1979, 83 lays stress on the very different methods of taking omens in the two rites. The difference, as I see it, lies in the stark simplicity of the σφάγια. We can hardly suppose that whatever good or bad signs resulted from that killing would have been dismissed in a more leisurely and complex sacrifice. Rudhardt 1958, 275 rightly sees σφάγια as both propitiatory

the sacrifice, but in the Classical period at least we cannot suppose it was ever absent. Hesitation on this point has arisen, no doubt, from the difficulty in seeing what could be done about bad signs as the enemy bore down upon the front line. One is inclined to suppose that the signs were essentially confirmatory of what had already been decided by human judgment and the earlier *ιερά* of camp-ground sacrifice, and were therefore simple and rarely known to fail.

How were the signs obtained? For the more leisurely *ιερά* of normal sacrifice the victim was cut open, some innards – primarily the liver and the *σπλάγχνα* (kidneys, gall bladder, urinary bladder, perhaps the heart) – were inspected for their appearance, and certain parts were put on the fire, where their behavior and that of the fire itself were observed.²² No prose source indicates unmistakably the method used before the battle-line and a single poetic passage is fraught with problems. Conceivably an expert *μάντις* might be able to extricate very rapidly the essential parts from the victim without concerning himself with the butchery of the rest of the animal. In any case, it is generally agreed that no altar was constructed and no fire was lit. (The apparent exceptions, as we shall see, illustrate the difficulty of distinguishing the *σφάγια* from the more normal sacrifices preceding them.) Instead, it is supposed that the way the animal fell and the way the blood flowed were the essential indications that were looked for.

With the fall of the animals, we may compare Aesch. *Supp.* 450, “omens must fall” (*δεῖ . . . πέσειν χρηστήριον*) and Polyb. 22.4a on the practice of all foreigners who, before going to war and risking danger, sacrifice (*σφαγιάζοντα*) a horse and learn from its fall what is going to happen. These parallels are not compelling and the representations of this moment in art show the victim firmly held between the legs of the sacrificer (see [Fig. 6.1](#) below and the accompanying discussion).

More probable is the observation of the flow of the blood. The very words used, invariably, *σφάγια* and *σφαγιάζομαι*, evoke blood. Euripides speaks of *σφάγια* as “streams of blood-loving earth” (*Supp.* 174, reading *γῆς φιλαίματος ῥοαί*) and the *Κῆρες* of the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles*

and mantic. Several scholars have suggested that the mantic function was not original but was added later, e.g. Szymanski 1908, 89, Eitrem 1953. The relationship of the seer (*μάντις*) to the commander has been fully treated by Pritchett 1971, 1979, and Lonis 1979. A seer had more specialized knowledge but a competent commander knew enough for most purposes. The sacrifices and the decisions based on them were the commander’s responsibility. He may be spoken of as sacrificing without mention of his *μάντις* just as any person may be who undertakes a sacrifice even though other persons perform the ritual acts.

²² Pritchett 1979, 73–8. On the tail of cattle and the gall bladder put on the fire, see “Sophocles, *Antigone* 1005–1022: An Illustration,” [chapter 5](#) this volume, pp. 88–97.

and Ares in the *Iliad* (22.267) drink blood, not of sacrificial victims, to be sure, but of fallen warriors. In effect, the σφάγια narrow down to a single action and an observation – the killing of the victim with a stab into the neck and the observing of the flow of blood that results.

Camp-ground and battle-line sacrifice

There is considerable functional equivalence between the battle-line σφάγια and the normal sacrifices that came before them and were intended to find out whether the movement towards an engagement with the enemy should proceed. The dividing line between them may not always have been sharp. The linking of the two rites is clearest in the words of Xenophon. Just before the Battle of Cunaxa the Persian prince Cyrus announces to Xenophon, and asks that he pass on to the Greek troops, that both the ἱερά and the σφάγια are good (*An.* 1.8.15). The distinction and the connection of the two become clear from the events of a single day described fully later in the *Anabasis*. Xenophon arises early and sacrifices for departure; the ἱερά are favorable with the first victim. On the completion of the rites, the seer Arexion observes a “lucky eagle” (αἰετὸν αἰσιον) and bids Xenophon to lead on (6.5.2). Later that day the enemy is seen some two miles away. The seer performs σφάγια and the σφάγια are good with the first victim (6.5.8). Finally, when the troops hesitate to cross a gully, a dangerous maneuver for an army in line of march with the enemy nearby, Xenophon exhorts his men, concluding with the words: “Men, the ἱερά are good for us, the birds are lucky and the σφάγια are excellent. Let us go against those men. Now that they have had a good look at us, they must no longer enjoy their dining nor camp wherever they like” (6.5.2 1). The army then crosses the gully and engages the enemy successfully. All three prognostic items – ἱερά, the eagle and the σφάγια – combine to strengthen the morale of the army and lead it to its engagement with the enemy.

Another example from Xenophon shows the close connection. On the previous day the ἱερά had proved unfavorable to leaving the camp. Through lack of victims they had had to buy and kill a cart ox (*An.* 6.4.22). Despite the lack of propitious signs, one of the commanders, Neon, offered to lead a group of volunteers on a foraging expedition (6.4.23–4). Conceivably he and the 2,000 or so men who joined him thought that such an informal venture might be exempt from the need for good signs. His band was attacked and badly mauled by troops of the native people. When word reached Xenophon in camp, “since the ἱερά had not proved favorable on that day, he took a

cart ox, performed σφάγια and rushed to help with all the soldiers under thirty years of age” (6.4.25). Note that the performance of σφάγια here is explained by the failure of previous ἱερά. For him they had essentially the same function. Possibly, had the earlier sacrifice been successful he would not have paused for the σφάγια. But, as his account of the σφάγια the following day shows (success came with the first victim), the σφάγια could not be counted on to succeed with every victim. One is left to speculate on what Xenophon would have done had the σφάγια of the cart ox failed, and one may even wonder what the signs did in fact show – he does not tell us but leaves us to assume they were favorable.

But even in the descriptions of the scrupulous Xenophon there can be uncertainty as to which rite is meant. When the Spartan commander Dercylidas suddenly ran up against Persian forces he ordered his men into battle formation and he himself began to sacrifice (ἐθύετο). The engagement did not in the end take place because Tissaphernes proposed a parley which Dercylidas accepted while observing: “I have made ready to fight, as you can see” (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.17–18). Everything points to battle-line σφάγια (presumably the signs were good) but the word used is the more general term for sacrifice which could also refer to the seeking of ἱερά by means of normal sacrifice. Although Xenophon’s account is circumstantial we would need more details to be quite sure which ritual was chosen on this occasion.

Contrasting usage is seen in the account of Mardonius’ frustration before the Battle of Plataea in 479 BC when the σφάγια performed by his Greek μάντις would not come out as he wished (καταθύμια, Hdt. 9.45.2, cf. 41.4). These we may be fairly sure are not last-minute rites before the battle-line, but their purpose is so single-minded, directed only to moving to an engagement, that Herodotus uses the language of that final rite.²³

The difference between Herodotus’ language and understanding of the procedures and that of much later writers is instructive. According to his description of the preliminaries to the Battle of Plataea, the Tegeans and Spartans performed σφάγια with the intention of engaging Mardonius and the army that faced them. The σφάγια were not proving favorable to them (οὐ . . . ἐγίνετο τὰ σφάγια χρεστά) and many of them were killed and many

²³ Two instances in Plutarch where the language is not precise: Phocion, while performing σφάγια, might have been having no success with the ἱερά (δυσίερον), unless he was delaying for tactical reasons (*Phoc.* 13). Before the Battle of Salamis, Themistocles is said to have been engaged in σφάγια when, on the arrival of three Persian prisoners of war, a large and conspicuous flame shot up from the ἱερά (Plut. *Them.* 13). The story, which will be considered shortly, is apocryphal and a fire is not surely attested for σφάγια before land battles. On the question of the rituals preliminary to sea battles, see [note 52](#) below.

more wounded by the arrows shot by Persian archers from behind a wall of wicker-work shields. Pausanias, the Spartan commander who would have been responsible for the rites, looked towards the local sanctuary of the goddess Hera and called upon her not to let them be disappointed of their hopes for victory. The Tegeans had already begun to advance – presumably their σφάγια had proved favorable – and after Pausanias’ prayer they turned favorable for the Lacedaemonians too (θυομένοισι τὰ σφάγια χρεστά), and they advanced to victory (Hdt. 9.61.3–62.1). There is nothing anomalous in this account, not even the use of θύεσθαι here in the most general sense of “sacrifice.”²⁴

This incident, when retold by Plutarch (*Arist.* 17–18), has been greatly elaborated. When the Lacedaemonians do not obtain ἱερά καλά, they are explicitly ordered to ground their shields and not to defend themselves; they suffer stoically the attacks of cavalry as well as the rain of arrows. To delay a charge is one thing, not to defend oneself quite another, and we may doubt such a command was ever given. Plutarch also knows a version according to which a band of Lydians swoops down upon Pausanias, as he is sacrificing and praying (θύοντι καὶ κατευχόμενοι) a little away from the formation, and seizes and scatters the parts being burnt on the altar (so at least I understand τὰ περὶ τῇν θυσίαν). They are repulsed by the Spartans with rods and whips. The details here are of normal sacrifice for ἱερά, not the battle-line σφάγια. In fact, Plutarch says it is an aetiology for a ceremony performed around an altar by ephebes at Sparta.²⁵ Plutarch goes on to describe the sacrifice of victim after victim and the prayer to Hera. No doubt Pausanias did sacrifice for ἱερά at some point before the battle but Plutarch’s account has no authority for what happened at Plataea. It shows, however, that by his time, at the latest, the battle-line σφάγια could be thought of in terms of normal sacrifice for ἱερά. Two rituals have been conflated, at the cost of clear visualization of what was done on the battlefield.

Another author of the second century of our era, Polyaeus, tells the story of a trick by the priestess of Thessalian Enodia, a Hecate figure, who in legendary times advised Cnopus to deck out elaborately and then drug

²⁴ An element of local piety has crept into the story. It seems that there had been a delay, for whatever reason, in the advance of the Lacedaemonian hoplites, during which time Persian archery took its toll. Both the difficulty and the eventual success were later said to be religious in origin, and credit was given to the local goddess, Hera. The story requires that difficulties in the final sacrifice, σφάγια, should have been credible.

²⁵ It forms part of a well-known festival in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 239C and M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung*, Leipzig 1906, 190–6.

the largest and finest bull. The maddened bull breaks away, is captured by the enemy, the inhabitants of Erythrae in Asia Minor, who accept him as a good omen, sacrifice and feast on him and, thanks to the drugs they ingest, go mad and fall victim to the forces of Cnopus when they attack (Polyaenus *Strat.* 8.43). The origin of the story has been traced by Walter Burkert to a type of scapegoat ritual found in Hittite and Sanskrit texts.²⁶ Polyaenus, however, has put the incident in the framework of Greek military ritual. The proximity to the enemy suggests σφάγια while the elaborate treatment of the victim points to a normal sacrifice, such as the “sacrifice to get good omens” (καλλιέριον), as does the feasting of the enemy, which is essential if the trick is to work and so indispensable for the story. Once again, distinctions are blurred, and for such a fantastic tale, developed around a different type of rite not apparently known in Greece, that is not surprising.

Our last example of the functional similarity of the two rites comes from tragedy. In a messenger’s speech in Euripides’ *Phoenissae* (1255–8), Eteocles and Polynices have been exhorting their troops. “The seers slew (ἐσφάζον) sheep and marked the points of flame,/ its cleavages, any damp signs of evil,/ and that high shining which may have two meanings,/ a mark of victory or of the losing side.”²⁷ The messenger concludes with a plea to Iocasta to prevent the fighting. The scholia on the lines quoted are exceptionally detailed in the information they give about the signs to be derived from sacrifice. Both the text and the scholia speak only of fire, which we have taken to be characteristic of the camp-ground sacrifice for ἱερά, but impractical and otherwise unattested for the final σφάγια. While the word used for killing, ἐσφάζον, may suggest σφάγια, and the urgency of the situation implies that fighting is about to break out, neither the language (σφάζω is the word for piercing the throat in any type of sacrifice) nor the actions described are inconsistent with the preceding sacrifice for ἱερά. In fact, it might be thought that once the σφάγια had been performed, nothing could prevent the battle, whatever their message. The poet, therefore, is probably not describing the very last rite before fighting begins, but the distinction in time and function is seen to be very close.

²⁶ W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Berkeley 1979, 59–61.

²⁷ Tr. E. Wyckoff, in D. Grene and R. Lattimore, eds., *The Complete Greek Tragedies*, vol. IV, *Euripides*, Chicago 1959. These notoriously difficult lines have exercised ancient and modern commentators. Wyckoff, 456, regards them and most of the messenger speech in which they occur as spurious, and lines 1242–58 are deleted by E. Fraenkel, *SitzBay* 1963, 60–3. But D. J. Mastronarde (ed., *Euripides’ Phoenissae*, Teubner, 1988), regards lines 1255–8 as difficult to interpret and requiring emendation, but not spurious.

Propitiation of the gods

Propitiation of the supernatural as well as divination is implicit in all these rites. But in most cases no divine addressee for prayers or recipient of the victim is mentioned. In Euripides' *Heraclidae* (399–400) the σφάγια victims stand ready to be sacrificed (τέμνεσθαι, “cut,” a word associated with powerful actions) to the appropriate (οἷς χρή) gods, who are not further defined. In the realm of legend is Theseus' battle-line σφάγια to Phobos (Plut. *Thes.* 27.3), but Alexander is also said to have addressed personified fear with σφάγια and secret, magical rites (Plut. *Alex.* 31.3). Two human sacrifices in Attic tragedy are to Persephone, perhaps as Queen of the Dead (Eur. *Heracl.* 403–5, 489–90), and to Ares, but as the father of the Theban serpent rather than the god of war (Eur. *Phoen.* 933–4).

Though it has been guessed that the mercenaries of Xenophon's *Anabasis* would have prayed to Zeus Soter, and one might add Heracles (cf. Xen. *An.* 4.8.25), the only sure historical example of a specific addressee is Artemis Agrotera.²⁸ To her the Spartans customarily sacrificed a young she-goat as σφάγια, in sight of the enemy and with the officiants and the whole army wearing crowns of foliage (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.20, *Lac.* 13.8; Plut. *Lyc.* 22.4). The epithet Agrotera occurs once in Homer, coupled with the description “mistress of wild beasts” (πότνια θηρῶν, *Il.* 21.470–1). She was worshipped in the Peloponnese, Megara, and Athens, and a scattering of other cities.²⁹ But she was particularly associated with the Spartans (cf. Aristoph. *Lys.* 1262–4, Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.20), perhaps just because of their formal address to her before battle. At Aegira in Achaea she was associated with the use of goats to trick an attacking enemy (torches were tied to the goats' horns at night, Paus. 7.26.3 and 11), a story that points to a military connection and a goat sacrifice. The epithet locates her in the uncultivated land outside of the settlement with its nearby cultivated fields.³⁰ The Greeks traced her

²⁸ The Muses and Eros are mentioned as receiving sacrifices from the Spartans before warfare or battle – they sacrifice to the Muses before war (Plut. *Mor.* 458E), offer σφάγια before dangers (*Mor.* 221A, cf. 238B) and the king makes preliminary sacrifices to them in battle (Plut. *Lyc.* 21.6). According to Athenaeus (13.561E) the Spartans make preliminary sacrifice to Eros in front of the battle-lines “with the belief that salvation and victory depend on the friendship (φιλία) of the men in the battle line.” The latter is connected with the sacrifice of maidens before battle by Burkert 1983, 65–6 and in *Greek Religion*, Cambridge, MA 1985, 267, cf. Connor 1988, 23–4. I do not fully understand the significance of the information nor the interpretations that have been offered.

²⁹ See CGS 2, 431–4; F. Schwenn, “Der Krieg in der griechischen Religion (part 2),” *ARW* 21, 1922, 62–7; no doubt more instances of her worship could now be added.

³⁰ P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris, 1968–80, s.v. ἀγρός.

epithet rather to ἄγρα or ἄγραι, “the hunt,” which took place in this zone. The Spartans also made a vow of a share of the prey to her and Apollo Agraeus at the moment when hounds were let loose in the hunt (Xen. *Cyn.* 6.13; the same epithets at Megara, Paus. 1.41.3). She too appears at times as Agraea rather than Agrotera.

It is difficult at first sight to see the fighting of the developed hoplite phalanx having much in common with the hunting of hare (the most common game), deer, or even boar, unless we accept as a universal phenomenon the equation of hunting and warfare.³¹ The nature of the territory the goddess frequents, the ἄγρός, seems more relevant than the hunt over which she presides. Despite the picture that we have for the Archaic and Classical periods of warfare taking place on, and for, the best farmland,³² it may be that when Artemis Agrotera gained her place in the rites of war either fighting took place in more marginal territory, or perhaps, rather, it was hoped that it could be confined to such territory.³³ This Artemis was the goddess of the wild, protectress of the wild animals and their haunts, but also the goddess of men in the wilderness with the distinctive dispositions and emotions they had when separated from the social world of the town. Commonly that situation is associated with the hunt and with the liminal condition of boys about to enter the adult world. The sacrifice to Artemis Agrotera shows that it was also the condition of men at war. Of the animals men had at their disposal for regular ritual, the goat, Artemis’ favorite victim, was most at home in that marginal territory.³⁴

Although Athenians thought of Artemis Agrotera as characteristically Spartan, the Athenians themselves had a long-lived cult of the goddess and a shrine just outside the city-walls. Her worship goes back to at least 490 BC and the Battle of Marathon, when a vow was made to her before the battle to sacrifice annually one goat for every enemy slain (fulfilled in practice by 500, instead of over 6,000 animals).³⁵ In the Hellenistic period and in

³¹ Cf. Burkert 1983, 46–8. ³² Hanson 1989, 4.

³³ The poetic depiction of towns under siege (cf. Hom. *Il.* 18.509–40; Hes. [Sc.] 237–69) shows the failure for the defenders of fighting in the countryside, through being defeated or outwitted. In the Homeric passage the ambush of cattle and herdsmen by men from the besieged town is set in what could be described as the ἄγρός of the attackers.

³⁴ Cf. E. Kadletz, *Animal Sacrifice in Greek and Roman Religion*, Diss. U. of Washington 1976, 87–92.

³⁵ The evidence together with a very useful note in P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford 1981, 650. It is usually thought that the day of her festival, 6th Boedromion (or 6th Thargelion), was not the day of the battle, but was the date of her festival even before Marathon. H. W. Parke suggested that it was “the date on which the resolution was passed by the Athenian army [rather, the assembly] to set out from Athens, and the vow was made in anticipation of the battle,” *Festivals of the Athenians*, Ithaca, NY 1977, 55. On the

the second century AD ephebes under arms marched in her procession and participated in contests in her honor.³⁶ The shrine was located at Agrai (“the hunting lands?”) on the slopes of low hills on the far side of the Ilissus river from the town of Athens, where Artemis had first hunted when she came from Delos (Paus. 1.19.6). Symbolically, it was wilderness, in contrast to the town and the plowed fields of the plain.

Her military character was remembered not only by the arms born by the ephebes, but by the fact that annually it was the *Polemarch* who sacrificed to her along with Enyalios (= Ares, Poll. 8.21) and that her treasury in the late fifth century contained money derived from the ransom or sale of prisoners of war (*IG* i³, 383, lines 85–97 = *IG* i², 310, lines 220–4). Were these solely acts of recognition of her help in 490 BC or did she continue to take an active part in Athenian warfare, as the money from prisoners might suggest? Was she perhaps the normal addressee of battle-line σφάγια for Athenians as well as Spartans? Against this is the silence about her in accounts of later Athenian fighting, in contrast to the Spartan associations recognized in Aristophanes. Furthermore, two Athenian representations of battle-line σφάγια show unmistakably a ram as the victim, not a she-goat (Fig. 6.1, and the accompanying discussion).³⁷

The location of her shrine may have bearing. The Athenian army mustered at the sanctuary of her brother Apollo, with the title Lykeios (“Wolfish,” an equally uncivil title), across the river on the plain, some two stades (365 m) due north.³⁸ Her shrine was in view of the troops assembled at the Lyceum, preparing to march out to Marathon. Eleven years later, Pausanias was said to have looked up to the Heraeum at Plataea and prayed to Hera just before the σφάγια proved favorable (Hdt. 9.61.3–62.1). Artemis Agrotera may have been invoked in 490 BC, at a moment of unparalleled danger for Athens, in the course of a camp-ground sacrifice for ἱερά in the precinct of Apollo Lykeios. Even as the Spartan hunters vowed to share their prey with Artemis and Apollo, so the Athenians in effect vowed to dedicate to her all the men they killed by giving her an equal number of her favorite victims. Thereafter she may have had a role in war ritual that we cannot see, but at the least she

location and remains of her sanctuary, see J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London 1971, 112–14.

³⁶ C. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie Attique*, Paris 1962, 215–16.

³⁷ E. Fraenkel, *Aeschylus Agamemnon* II, Oxford 1950, 133, asserted that Athens (cf. Eitrem 1953, 19) and several other Greek cities offered her battle-line σφάγια but his citations do not show this to have been the case. Ar. *Eq.* 660–2 is an allusion to the Athenian vow of 490 BC.

³⁸ On the sanctuary and its use, see “Apollo Lykeios in Athens,” chapter 3 this volume, pp. 41–61. For the relationship between the two shrines, see Travlos 1971, fig. 379.



Fig. 6.1 Five joining fragments of a red-figure cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art (26.242); ca. 490–480 BC. A beardless warrior, right, wearing an *exomis* (sleeveless vest) over a *chiton* (tunic) and a Chalcidian helmet, rests his left knee on the back of a ram, holding its muzzle with his left hand and driving his sword through its throat with his right. The artist has been compared to the Eucharides Painter by C. G. Boulter, *CVA USA*, Fasc. 15, Princeton 1971, 23–4, Pl. 37.1 (ARV² 1570.12 and 1636.43bis).

was remembered in an annual festival and by occasional dedications from the spoils of victory.

The battle-line *σφάγια*, it is clear, could be thought of as addressed to supernatural figures. None the less, the predominant silence on their identity cannot be without significance, as is the absence of figures one might have expected to be named, such as Ares and Athena. They lead the men setting out for the ambush on the Shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.516) and Ares and Athena Areia are among those who witness the oath of the ephebes of Athens (*SEG* XVI 140). Ares receives the human sacrifice of Menoeceus in Euripides' *Phoenissae*, but explicitly in recompense for Cadmus' slaying of his serpent

(933–4), though, to be sure, one might argue that at an earlier time an even more brutal war-god needed no excuse to demand blood. Some scholars have supposed that the figures addressed were unnamed, infernal gods, such as poetry conceives of as ranging over the battlefield.³⁹ Others have thought of Ge, the earth, who in the absence of an altar receives the blood that this rite emphasizes, or the local heroes in whose domain the fighting takes place.⁴⁰ Neither possibility would be inconsistent with the context and may well have been true at times, but instead of positing a single explanation, we might do better to suppose that the particular traditions and circumstances of the army and their commander, and the individual beliefs and feelings of the men, affected the choice and even the articulation of an addressee. To judge by the general lack of articulation, it looks as if what mattered at this juncture was the act itself.

Sphagia as purification

What, then, was the meaning of the act? “Purification by placation” was proposed by Jane Harrison for σφάγια in general and this has been applied, by analogy, to the battle-line σφάγια by Pritchett, who refers to carrying the dead victim around the targeted persons or place in purificatory rites.⁴¹ There may have been a comparable action before battle. In Euripides’ *Phoenissae* the μάντις Amphiaraus is described as going into battle carrying the σφάγια on his chariot, instead of bearing arrogant symbols on his shield (1209–12, cf. 174). Thucydides, in his description of the battle at Syracuse (6.69.2), says “the seers brought forward (προῦφερον) the σφάγια,” which is usually taken to mean that they brought live animals forward for sacrifice. But more likely it means that the dead animal or a critical part of the animal, such as the liver, was carried forward to show that the ceremony had been completed successfully. There is no mention of killing and of obtaining good signs. No sooner had the σφάγια been brought forward than the hoplite ranks advanced. It seems that the killing had already been done.⁴²

³⁹ Cf. Hes. [Sc.] 248–57; Pritchett 1979, 87–8.

⁴⁰ Cf. Ziehen 1929. Eitrem 1953 and Stengel 1910a saw the σφάγια as essentially apotropaic, to avert hostile spirits.

⁴¹ J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 3rd edn, Cambridge 1980, 65; Pritchett 1979, 86.

⁴² The scholiast commented that the σφάγια were performed in front of the army. One expects φέρω to refer to something that is carried with the arms, ἄγω to refer to the bringing of animals. Cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 673, of the σφάγια of both sides.

The dead animal has potency, certainly in Euripides' representation of Amphiaraus and probably for the Athenians at Syracuse, but the language of purification is absent from the rites of the battlefield; the occasional purification of an army earlier or later is another matter.⁴³ Can the victim be seen as a scapegoat, an offering that takes upon itself the pollution of the army, as in the Hittite and Indic practices that have been compared to the story discussed above (Polyaenus *Strat.* 8.43), of how the original inhabitants of Erythrae ate the poisoned bull sent among them? But for the Greeks we know of no comparable procedure before battle – the expulsion of the victim or its despatch to the enemy. Mythical and pseudo-historical examples of human sacrifices, all σφάγια since their flesh is not to be eaten by the sacrificers, equally lack the language of pollution and purification and do not involve expulsion of victims from the community and toward the enemy. But a number of these are powerful, imagined conceptions of the situation before battle and may contribute to our understanding.⁴⁴

Human sacrifice

Phylarchus, the Hellenistic historian, wrote that at one time all the Greeks killed a human being before going out against the enemy (*FGrH* 81 F 80 = Porph. *Abst.* 2.56). The mostly mythical examples on which such a statement was based were once thought to illustrate the evolution of civilization as mankind substituted animal for human sacrifice. More recently they have been examined as imaginative and symbolic expressions of human values and emotions in situations of great tension.⁴⁵ The most famous of the allegedly historical examples, the sacrifice of three Persian prisoners before the Battle of Salamis by Themistocles, has been shown to be unhistorical, which is not to say that human sacrifice before battle could not have happened since there are two instances of the killing of prisoners being put into a ritual context. Alexander the Great is said to have killed those suspected of his father's assassination at his father's tomb, in effect converting an execution into a sacrifice (Just. *Epit.* 11.2.1), and Messenian prisoners of war were killed at the grave of Philopoemen in the second century BC (Plut. *Phil.*

⁴³ Pritchett 1979, 196–202.

⁴⁴ On human sacrifice, F. Schwenn, *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern*, Berlin 1915, and A. Henrichs, "Human Sacrifice in Greek Religion: Three Case Studies," in J. Rudhardt and O. Reverdin, eds., *Le sacrifice dans l'antiquité*, Vandoeuves 1980, 195–235.

⁴⁵ See, especially, Henrichs 1980; H. P. Foley, *Ritual Irony: Poetry and Sacrifice in Euripides*, Ithaca, NY 1985.

21). Both examples recall the killing of twelve Trojan captives at the pyre of Patroclus in the *Iliad* (23.175–6) and of Polyxena's death in Euripides' *Hecuba*. Here the imagined practices of legend have been made real.

If σφάγια are powerful actions, nothing is more powerful than the piercing of a human throat so that the blood flows. Two contrasting types of human victim are found: (1) One of "our own" community and, in the extreme forms favored by myth, of noble birth, a daughter or son of the king; (2) an enemy who can be slaughtered with less compunction, as in the two historical cases and the apocryphal story of Themistocles at Salamis; here is where we might expect but in fact fail to find the notion of the scapegoat.

The stories of human sacrifice generally are concerned with serious threats to the community from plague or foreign invasion. Most often, as we shall see, these extraordinarily powerful sacrifices are not slotted precisely into the normal sequence of rites leading up to battle, but bear on the overall emergency. They are, therefore, more revealing of general attitudes than of the specific meaning of particular rites.

Of the first type of victim Iphigenia is the best-known example. The realistic correlate to her sacrifice is the σφάγια performed for crossing water or to propitiate unfavorable winds. But the god who must be propitiated here is Artemis, not the powers of the sea or of the winds. In Aeschylus' treatment of the story in the *Agamemnon*, the reason for Artemis' anger as well as the immediate purpose of the sacrifice are left obscure, and the poet, by calling the sacrificers "leaders who love battle" (230) and comparing the girl to a young she-goat (χίμαιρα, 232), alludes to the battle-line σφάγια.⁴⁶ At the end of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis* (a part of the play whose authenticity is doubtful) Artemis is addressed as slayer of animals, that is, the hunting goddess Agrotera (1570), and as the one who delights in human sacrifice (1524–5), an unmistakable reference to the Tauric Artemis of the same dramatist's *Iphigenia among the Taurians*.

The only explicit example of a human sacrifice serving as the battle-line σφάγια is that of Marathos, the Arcadian, who because of some oracle offered himself for sacrifice (σφαγιάσασθαι) before the battle-line (Plut. *Thes.* 32.5). Marathos had accompanied the Tyndaridae on an invasion of Attica and through his death became the eponymous hero of the Attic deme of Marathon. Though we lack details the story seems to reflect the αἵτιον of how a foreigner gave his name to a part of Attica and thus

⁴⁶ In general, see Henrichs 1980, 198–208. On the chorus' description of Iphigenia's death in the *Agamemnon*, see Fraenkel 1950, 232 and K. J. Dover, "Some Neglected Aspects of Agamemnon's Dilemma," *JHS* 93, 1973, 58–69.

became its protector, after dying – unusually – in the service of the invading army.⁴⁷

The ritual correlates in other stories are less precise. Menoeceus, the son of Creon, in Euripides' *Phoenissae* willingly accepts the death prescribed by Tiresias, fresh from success as a military μόντις for the Athenians (852), and the commanders and generals concur (973). The context is military and the purpose is to save Thebes from the Seven. But he kills himself on a tower of the walls of Thebes (1090), not before the battle-line, and the blood he gives to the earth is in recompense for Ares' anger at Cadmus' slaughter of his serpent (933–4), not to Ares as the god of war.

Stories of the death of virgins of the highest birth were particularly popular in tragedy.⁴⁸ In Euripides' *Heracidae*, when Aegisthus and the Argives invade Attica to destroy the children of Heracles, all sources of divination are consulted by the Athenian king and all agree that not bull nor calf but a virgin girl must be slaughtered for Persephone (Eur. *Phoen.* 403–5, cf. 489–90). Macaria, Heracles' daughter, offers herself; her request that she breathe her last in the hands of women, not men, is granted (565–74). This does not lead us to expect that she will be killed in front of the two armies. When later in the play there is a description of battle-line σφάγια performed by *both* sides and without mention of Macaria one would see no allusion to human sacrifice if the text did not speak (literally) of “the propitious killing of human throats.” Rather than seeing a very oblique reference to the girl's death that contradicts what we have been told earlier, or accepting an interpretation that takes the animals here to be surrogates for humans, I find it more likely that there is a problem in the text.⁴⁹

Of examples outside of drama, the story of the Boeotian Leuctrides is interesting because of the way it was developed and attached to an important historical event, the Theban victory over the Spartans at Leuctra in 371 BC. The battle took place near a sacred spot that was interpreted to be the grave of two maidens who had been raped by Spartans. The Theban general

⁴⁷ Plutarch cites the late fourth-century peripatetic philosopher Dicaearchus, Fr. 66 in F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, Basel 1944, with discussion on pp. 62–3. On the foreign origin of a number of tutelary heroes see F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, 132–40.

⁴⁸ Human sacrifices in story are reviewed by Schwenn 1915, 121–39. Cf. Foley 1985, 65 and *passim*. On the death of virgins in particular, Henrichs 1980, 195–208, and Burkert 1983, 65–7, who sees their killing as an element in the sexualization of war, sexually aggressive acts requiring restitution.

⁴⁹ Cf. Pritchett 1979, 86: “a surrogate – an animal in substitution for the human victim of earlier times.” F. A. Paley 1872–80, suggested reading βοτείον, “sheep's,” for βρότειον, “mortal.” G. Wilamowitz in “Excurse zu Euripides' *Herakliden*,” *Hermes* 17, 1882, 337 deleted lines 819–22; G. Murray OCT 1913, daggered the word βρότειον.

Pelopidas was said to have had a dream in which their father charged him with sacrificing (σφαγιάσαι) a maiden to them if he wished to defeat the enemy. Fortunately a young filly strayed into the camp and was consigned to that fate by the seers.⁵⁰

While these stories of the surrender and destruction for the gods of noble men and women are usually kept distinct from the specific rituals performed before battle, they can be taken to reflect the general atmosphere of a community in a crisis, such as characterized, to some degree, every battle and every siege. Two historical examples illustrate Greek views. The Spartan king Leonidas' death at Thermopylae in 480 BC was subsequently supported by oracles and interpreted as the necessary loss – we would say “sacrifice” – which permitted the Greeks to defeat the Persians in the war.⁵¹ Again, in 403 BC the μάντις of the democratic Athenians fighting to regain the city from the tyranny of the Thirty is said to have advised no move by his fellow soldiers until one of them had been killed or wounded, after which he foresaw victory and his own death. When the enemy appeared he led the charge and was killed but his comrades won the battle (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.18–19). It may have happened in just this way, or it may be that since the μάντις was the first, or among the first, to be killed and since his comrades won, his death was taken to be the powerful surrender, i.e. “sacrifice,” that brought about the successful outcome.

The second type of human victim is one of the enemy. Here we might expect to see the notion of a scapegoat and the expulsion of pollution at work, but that does not prove to be the case. The most notorious incident, that of Themistocles' sacrifice of three Persian captives before the Battle of Salamis in 480 BC, has often been accepted as historical and at first sight appears to fit the slot of σφαγία before battle. Themistocles is sacrificing on the island of Salamis near the command ship in preparation for the naval engagement with the Persian fleet. Three handsome and splendidly dressed Persian prisoners, nephews of the Great King, are brought forward, at which point a bright flame shoots up from the ἱερά on the altar and a sneeze is heard on the right. The μάντις urges Themistocles to sacrifice the Persians to Dionysus Omestes (“Raw-eater”) to save the city and win victory. Themistocles is shocked but the crowd insists on the sacrifice (Plut. *Them.* 13.2–5, cf. *Arist.* 9.2, *Pelop.* 21.3). The story has been shown to be unhistorical because the prisoners were said to have been captured on the island of Psyttaleia, on which the Athenians landed only after the naval

⁵⁰ See J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle*, Berkeley 1978, 146–8.

⁵¹ Hdt. 7.220.4, 239.1. Fontenrose 1978, 77–8 and 319, Q127.

victory, and because the god who received the sacrifice was unknown in Athens but was a local figure of Lesbos, the home of Plutarch's source, Phaenias.⁵²

The incident is omitted by Herodotus, though one could argue he did so because he was reluctant to attribute such barbarism to the Greeks at their moment of glory. But he does report that earlier that summer some Persians killed on the prow of their ship a comparably handsome Greek καλλιστεύον (finest victim) whose ship they had captured (7.180); the verbs are σφάζω and σφαγιάζομαι. They regarded him as a good omen, being their first captive and most handsome. The language and thinking are close to that of the Greek seer at Salamis, as reported by Phaenias in Plutarch. It was common (not, as is sometimes said, a rule) in sacrifice to choose through a process of selection the καλλιστεύον for sacrifice. Here the finest victim serves also as a first fruit offered to the gods, though that is not explicit in the language.⁵³ The incident may be no more historical than the killing of the three noble Persians on Salamis, since Herodotus is fond of commenting on the awful but fascinating strangeness of the Persians and other non-Greeks in ritual matters. But both are probably examples of sacrifice conceived of as offering a prize, a first fruit, to the gods to gain their favor or to deflect their envy. The sheep and goats of armies or fleets on campaign are appropriate victims but they are not selected as the finest nor are they first-fruits. The stories say that the situation deserves the giving of a prize to the gods. The reality was the killing of the nearest domestic animal.

⁵² F. Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles: A Historical Commentary*, Princeton 1980, 150; Henrichs 1980, 208–24. Henrichs finds the language of the description correct up to the sacrifice of the Persians, at which point an unparalleled second sacrifice is added. It should be noted, however, that while Themistocles is engaged in σφάγια (σφαγιαζόμενοι) there are ἱερά burning in the fire, which we have not found surely attested for the battle-line sacrifice. There is a question whether the same rites were performed before a naval engagement as before hoplite battle. Xenophon is silent about the sacrifices before the Battle of Arginusae in 406 BC, but Diodorus Siculus (13.97) has a melodramatic account of the head of the Spartan victim disappearing in the sea, which the seer interpreted to mean the death of the Spartan admiral, as indeed happened, and favorable ἱερά on the Athenian side being reported to the fleet while a dream of the Athenian commander of the day, Thrasyllus, that he and six other στρατηγοί were playing the parts of the seven against Thebes in Euripides' *Phoenissae* in Athens, was not reported because the seer foretold that it meant their death. Normal sacrifice for ἱερά are indicated by the εἰσιτῆρια (opening sacrifice) before a naval expedition (to be distinguished from the rites performed on entering a public office). A seer is honored for having predicted Athenian victory in the Battle of Cnidus in 396 BC, as explained by Pritchett 1979, 63–7. We can safely assume that camp-ground sacrifice for ἱερά was normal before a naval battle, as for all engagements, but it is unlikely that there was any equivalent of the final σφάγια before the battle-lines on land. Plutarch's σφαγιαζόμενοι of Themistocles is vivid but probably not realistic.

⁵³ E.g., SIG³ 1024, l. 6, etc.; cf. Henrichs 1980, 217, n. 2.

Art

Our last source of information is art. We concentrate on three examples of a warrior killing a ram, two from Attic red-figure vases of the fifth century BC, the third in a series of reliefs of the first half of the fourth century BC, from Lycia in Asia Minor but of Greek workmanship.⁵⁴ In the first (Fig. 6.1), a warrior wearing a helmet but no armor, while holding the snout of a ram with his left hand and gripping its hindquarters between his knees, drives the point of a sword through the animal's neck. The blood begins to spurt both from the point at which the sword entered the neck and from its point of exit. The ram has been forced to its knees. The scene is entirely the act of sacrifice. In the second example the body of the sacrificer is missing. He straddles the ram whose body is flat on the ground and he pulls its head back by pushing down on its left horn. With his right hand he drives the sword into the animal's neck. The remains of the two bands of the calyx krater show, to the right of the sacrifice, two warriors armed with helmets and shields confronting each other with spears. In the lower band two men, one helmeted, the other wearing a cap, drag a bearded corpse. A youth carrying three spears and a shield faces them, his right hand on his head in a gesture of lamentation. In the third example, the relief shows a helmeted, beardless man wearing a short cape, and kneeling on a ram whose neck he grips between his thighs. With his left hand he pulls the victim's head back and in his right hand he holds up a sword to drive into its neck. To the right stands a bearded man, taken to be the commander of the besieged forces, wearing breastplate and helmet, holding up his shield with his left arm which rests on a spear while his right arm is raised in a gesture of prayer.

The last two examples certainly allude to heroic scenes of combat. The first is so narrowly focused that it is without context other than that of battle. But it is the most revealing in that it singles out the moment of performing

⁵⁴ Example one, shown in Fig. 6.1: five joining fragments of a red-figure cup, CVA Cleveland Museum of Art 26.242. Pl. 37.1, ca. 490–80 BC, cf. the Eucharides painter (C. G. Boulter, CVA USA, Fasc. 15, Princeton 1971, 23–4, Pl. 37.1, ARV² 1570.12 and 1636.43bis); example two, a fragment of a red-figure calyx-krater, formerly in the Bareiss Collection, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California, *Greek Vases: Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection*, 1983, N. 106, ca. 430 BC (Getty Museum number: 86.AE.213). The third example is the Heroon from Gjölbäsk-Trysa, now in Vienna. F. Eichler, *Die Reliefs der Heroon von Gjölbäsk-Trysa*, Vienna 1950, 62 and Pl. 19 [upper left]. A much larger series on coins and in reliefs of figures kneeling on a victim in this pose shows the goddess Nike or a hero. These too I believe represent military σφάγια; I discuss them in “The Ritual of the Athena Nike Parapet,” chapter 7, this volume, pp. 127–44. It should be noted that in all cases of this pose the head of the victim is pulled up, not down as has been claimed was necessary for σφάγια as chthonic rites (e.g. Ziehen 1929, 1670–1). What matters is where the blood flows.

σφάγια, of driving the sword through the neck, as a self-contained scene. The absence from all these scenes of altar, fire, and the usual officiants and attendants seen in representations of sacrifice shows that this is the σφάγια before battle. The sacrificer may be a μάντις, but he is also a member of the fighting force, since he wears a helmet and carries a sword. He kills with no special implement but the sword which he will shortly use in battle, and none of the paraphernalia of sacrifice, often lovingly depicted on Attic vases, is in sight. The depiction of the moment of killing the victim is in contrast to the usual representation of sacrifice. Aside from these scenes only the moment of killing a human victim is shown in Greek art, and that too was conceived of as a form of σφάγια.⁵⁵ These scenes give us the essential message of battle-line σφάγια. There are no signs of good omen, no symbol to represent the divinity addressed, not even the community of sacrificers, though we know how concerned they were with this sacrifice. It is the act of killing, pure and simple, that matters at this moment.

Conclusions

The various types of formal killing of domestic animals, which we lump together and call sacrifice, were subject to a variety of meanings for the Greeks and were used in a wide range of contexts for diverse purposes. The actual context of any particular performance tended to limit its meanings. In warfare, the immediate aims of ritual seem especially clear. The stories told about remarkable sacrifices in the course of war and the imagery of poetry suggest how these sacrifices might be interpreted – as surrender of something of value to the home community to save the rest of the community, as passing on to the gods the first-fruits of success, and as the appeasing of dangerous powers. But how much of this impinged on the historically attested enactments? As the two armed forces move toward conflict the aims of ritual become narrower and more single-minded.

Ostensibly every step taken is approved by the gods through the signs they give in answer to inquiry. At the same time, proper acknowledgment of the role of the gods, of their power, is made through sacrifice, libation, and prayer. But the initiative is in the hands of men. The decision to go to war is taken by political institutions. It may be ratified by divination; or

⁵⁵ See Durand 1989, but my example (Fig. 6.1) is an exception to his rule. My second and third examples show that for representations of the battle-line σφάγια, whether the implement is or is not in the victim's neck does not matter.

rather the timing, and thus also the place, for the decision's being put into effect is approved or delayed or, rarely, cancelled altogether by divination. So Thucydides reports that a Spartan campaign was given up because the border-crossing sacrifices proved unfavorable (5.54.2, cf. 55.3 and 116.1). Had we more details we might well see that there had been disagreement about the advisability of the campaign or its timing, so that the failure to get the right signs at once was sufficient to reverse the decision. The religious and the pragmatic are so closely intertwined in this world that it would be futile for us to try to judge whether genuine religious feeling or practical considerations were at work. When a decision was firm or effectively inescapable, men continued sacrificing for the necessary omens until they were obtained or until the issue was moot, when the enemy was upon them. We do not need to believe that any Greek soldiers ever failed to defend themselves in this situation.⁵⁶

The whole sequence of rites leading up to battle expressed what men desired, the ideal outcome being the collaboration of gods with men at every step. But the repeated sacrifices until the desired signs were received say more about the determination of the sacrificers than their willingness to govern their actions by divine guidance. Herodotus has Mardonius say, in effect, when the sacrifices do not come out as he desired (καταθύμια), "To hell with trying to force (βιάζεσθαι) the σφάγια" (Hdt. 9.45.2, 9.41.4). In the mouth of the foreigner is put a skeptical, ill-omened but recognizable description of what is being done.

At the last moment when the battle-line σφάγια are performed, all aims culminate in and are subordinated to a single expressive action – the killing of the animal, which is immediately followed by the killing of men.⁵⁷ The

⁵⁶ When hoplites faced light-armed men, their only defense, aside from trying to avoid missiles, was to advance. Agesilaus' hoplites suffered wounds at the hands of light-armed Acarnanians until the σφάγια were completed, whereupon they advanced against them (Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.10). On the dilemmas of commanders forced to balance religious and military considerations, see Dover 1973, 62–7. There is an informative incident from peacetime Sparta. Early in the fourth century BC, King Agesilaus at Sparta, while performing routine sacrifices, received unfavorable signs from the ἱερά which pointed to a plot against the state (Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.4). After repeated sacrifices to "apotropaic and saving" powers the king and his μάντις were barely able to get favorable signs and so stop sacrificing and resume their secular activities, which included investigations that led to the discovery of the source of subversion, a certain Cinadon and his associates. One might well speculate that the Spartan authorities wanted to move against a suspected danger and welcomed supernatural support for their views. The use of the apotropaic rites is a way of getting out of a situation that requires action by other means, comparable to turning off a smoke alarm while looking for the fire and putting it out.

⁵⁷ Cf. "the deadly activity that then continued in the human slaughter of battle," Burkert 1983, 66.

spirit of the battlefield ritual has been caught by Albert Henrichs in his study of human sacrifice in Greek religion:

the brutalizing experience of battle and impending doom . . . lies also at the root of the σφάγια sacrifice as such in its regular animal form . . . men at the threshold of hand-to-hand combat sought unusual ritual remedies in an effort to cope with extraordinary psychological strain, and with the threat to their lives. Sinister and different, the σφάγια anticipated the bloodshed of the battle and marked its ritual beginning.⁵⁸

I have tried to clarify these unusual ritual remedies and to show that they are not in themselves distinctive but are sinister and different primarily because, as all activity accelerates to the clash of armed men, everything that is not essential gives way to the stark fact of the act of killing, not softened or veiled by the forms of normal sacrifice in a communal or familial environment.

It was the view of Alfred Loisy that in divinatory sacrifices the sacred action is a sign or representation of what is wanted, just as the portent is a sign of what is going to happen. Such sacrifices are in effect magical, designed to control and direct and not only to inquire. Loisy's knowledge of Greek practice was faulty and his further notion, that magic is a confusion in the primitive mind, now finds few adherents.⁵⁹ If, however, we think of such ritual as expressive action, it can be seen as representing simply what is desired and of serving to focus, while at the edge of the chaos of battle, on that goal.⁶⁰ The repeated sacrifices leading up to battle are in a sense magical, most clearly in the concentrated σφάγια for crossing boundaries of water. At other times, the absence or vagueness of a divine recipient or addressee, the indifference to sacred places and instruments and to the disposal of the victim, are clearest in, if not limited to, the final σφάγια. Divination is not

⁵⁸ Henrichs 1980, 215–16. Two minor points: first, Henrichs says that “It is well known that σφάγια required the wholesale slaughter of animals which took place on the battlefield . . .” (cf. Burkert 1983, 66 “slaughtered in great numbers as the enemy looked on”), “wholesale” only if each victim failed to produce the right signs, and exposure to the enemy rarely permitted prolonged sacrifice and consultation. The number of victims as such is not part of the aim or the effect of the sacrifice. Second, although the sacrifice did mark the beginning of battle the language used of these rites does not, to my knowledge, employ the compounds of ἀρχεσθαι, “to begin,” common elsewhere in sacrificial terminology. Cf. Rudhardt 1958, 19–20.

⁵⁹ A. Loisy, *Essai historique sur le sacrifice*, Paris 1920, 259–60, criticized by Lonis 1979, 104, for some misconceptions of Greek practice.

⁶⁰ Cf. the discussion of a much more complex ritual in J. Z. Smith's essay, “The Bare Facts of Ritual,” in his *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown*, Chicago 1982, 53–65. On the relation of magic to ritual (and of both to scientific thought), see S. J. Tambiah, “The Form and Meaning of Magical Acts: A Point of View,” in W. A. Lessa and E. Z. Vogt, eds., *Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach*, 4th edn, New York 1979, especially 358–62.

abandoned; rather, the acts of killing and of divination are combined, their distinction collapsed. Battle was slaughter, “us” killing “them.” In the act of σφάγια everything was reduced to a single action, a single stroke. Expressed fully, what the sacrificers said was: “O gods! We destroy this life. We wish to kill and not be killed. Support us.” Put even more simply, it is an act and a wish: “We kill. May we kill.”

The performance of animal sacrifice, the ritual core of Greek religion, was deeply affected by the rise of democratic and imperial Athens, as were many other forms of traditional behavior. The ambition and wealth that marked the city's ritual calendar engaged an extraordinary proportion of its population in its many festivals, and hence in its sacrifices. In material terms a great deal of meat was distributed in accordance with egalitarian principles: in religious terms the citizenry participated broadly and frequently in the propitiation of its gods.

The Athenians also brought the members of the *ἀρχή* (empire) into the performance of their most important festival by means of the contribution of a cow and a panoply from each city for the Greater Panathenaea (ML 46.41–2 = *IG* i³ 34, Fornara 98; ML 69.57–8 = *IG* i³ 71, Fornara 136). Here we may be tempted to see only the flexing of Athenian muscle, which indeed it was. But the provision of victims was, in effect, sharing in the privilege of sacrificing to Athens' goddess, a privilege not lightly granted by Classical cities. Athens seems also to have invited allied contributions to the construction of temples on the Acropolis, one of which was the small but conspicuous shrine of Athena Nike on the Mycenaean bastion at its entrance (*IG* i³ 64A = i² 88–9).¹ There the iconography of ritual shows another aspect of Athenian religion in the fifth century. This paper focuses on the ritual represented on the larger and more visible of that shrine's two friezes, the sculptured parapet that surrounded it at ground level on three sides. The Archaic shrine of Athena Nike was destroyed by the Persians in 480 BC.

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Earlier versions of this paper have benefited from the comments of audiences at the universities of Odense and Uppsala. I am also most grateful for the opportunity of discussing some of these issues with Professor E. B. Harrison and for advice from Dr J. Binder. For the honorand, David Lewis, from whom I have learnt so much, it is meager repayment.

¹ The most recent text and discussion is by I. S. Mark, *The Sanctuary of Athena Nike in Athens: Architectural Stages and Chronology*, Princeton 1993, 108–10, 138–40, who sees allied participation in selecting plans for a new temple. I suspect material contributions were at least as important. Developing a proposal of J. A. Bundgaard, "Le sujet de *IG* i 24," in *Mélanges helléniques offerts à Georges Daux*, Paris 1974, 43–9, Mark relates ML 46 to the mid-fifth rather than the late-fifth-century building.

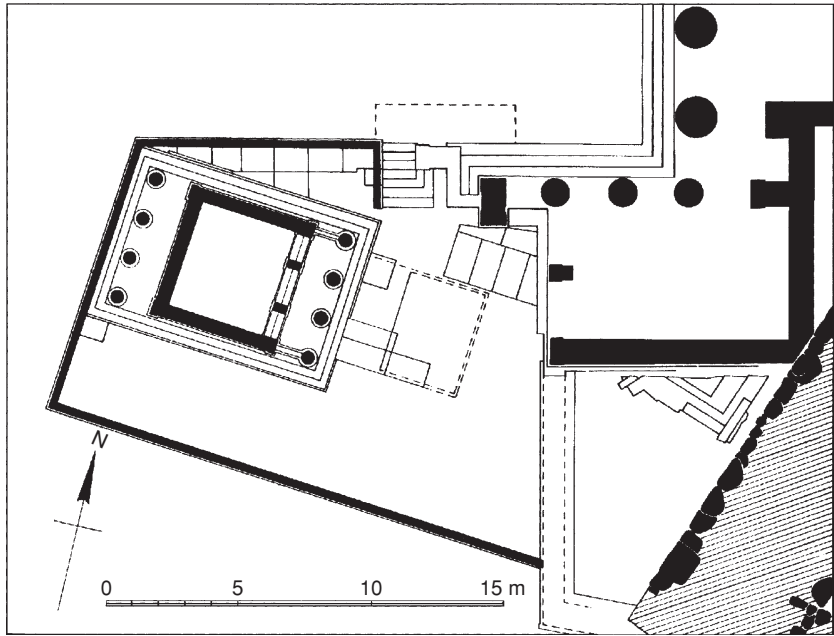


Fig. 7.1 Plan of the Nike bastion in the late fifth century BC.

In the mid-fifth century a modest structure was built to house the statue, which seems to have been taken to safety during the Persian occupation, and a priestess was appointed from all Athenian women (ML 44 = *IG* i³ 35, Fornara 93).

Construction of a more ambitious temple for the goddess probably took place in the 420s, the last task being the carving and installation of reliefs surmounted by a metal grill, to serve as a protective parapet around the edge of the bastion, perhaps between 416 and 413 BC (see Fig. 7.1).² Before the end of the war and the Athenian defeat, in any case, it was complete, an elegant little Ionic temple with a rich sculptural program in its acroteria, pediments, frieze, and, most originally and strikingly, in the meter-high and 40-meter-long balustrade, to be seen from outside and below, as one approached the Acropolis. In addition to four Nikai almost hidden from

² The dates are those proposed by Mark 1993, 76–92, in agreement with much other current opinion. See also A. F. Stewart, “History, Myth, and Allegory in the Program of the Temple of Athena Nike, Athens,” in *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Studies in the History of Art 17, Washington, DC 1985, 55 and n. 17, who notes support for a somewhat later date. Mark’s analysis of the archaeological and architectural history of the site supersedes all others, whatever disagreement there may be on particular points. Mark also prints and discusses all the relevant testimonia and inscriptions, including ML 71 (= *IG* i³ 36, Fornara 140) and *IG* i³ 64A and B.

view along the short stairway at the northeast, each of the three outer faces of the bastion, south, west, and north, presented an Athena and a series of Nikai, winged female figures of unprecedented sensuous grace (Figs. 7.4–7 below). The impact on Greek art in all forms was immediate and long-lasting.

The aesthetic qualities of the sculpture have tended to be seen in isolation from its context and from the meaning of its subjects. To quote a respected interpreter of Greek art, Jerome Pollitt:

[The Nikai give an impression] of being calligraphic designs . . . [which] is reinforced by their arbitrary and only vaguely functional actions . . . [T]he animated Nike from the north side of the parapet . . . who is enwrapped in a beautiful flourish of waving furrows [see Fig. 7.3, #11, Fig. 7.5] seems to lay her hand on the head of the adjacent bull only as a token to duty . . . [T]he Nikai may be thought to be engaged in a very casual processional movement toward Athena . . . The Nikai perform a beautiful ballet, but the choreography seems designed to divert one from giving too much thought to the question of just what the dance is about.³

Unlike the frieze circling the outside of the temple walls, whose subjects, an assembly of the gods on the east over the entrance, and generic or historical battle scenes on the other three sides, have been much discussed, and unlike the much less visible frieze of the Parthenon, the subject of the sculpture on the parapet has received little attention or seems to have been thought of as trivial or irrelevant. Patient study up to 1930 by Kekulé, Heberdey, Dinsmoor, and Carpenter (whose 1929 ordering of the fragments is shown in Figs. 7.2 and 7.3) went a long way towards recovering the relationship of the fragments and restoring the scenes depicted.⁴ Since then more fragments have been found and some adjustments in the restoration have become necessary: not all of this new information has yet been published.

³ J. J. Pollitt, *Art and Experience in Classical Greece*, New York 1972, 115–18. Stewart 1985, 73 n. 64, agrees with Pollitt to some degree but rather than seeing the art of the parapet as “purely escapist” he describes the style as “a device to ‘bewitch,’” suggesting analogies with late-fifth-century rhetoric. T. Hölscher, “Images and Political Identity: the Case of Athens,” in D. Boedeker and K. A. Raafaub, eds., *Democracy, Empire, and the Arts in Fifth-century Athens*, Cambridge, MA 1998, 173, 176, characterizes the parapet as “the most euphoric victory celebration in classical Greek art . . . the figural decoration of which reflects the atmosphere of the great victories of the middle 420s.”

⁴ R. Kekulé von Stradonitz, *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade des Tempels der Athena Nike*, Stuttgart 1881; R. Heberdey, “Der Balustrade der Athena Nike,” *JÖAI Beibl.* 13, 1910, 85–8, and “Die Komposition der Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike,” *JÖAI* 21–2, 1922–24, 1–82; R. Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, Cambridge, MA 1929; W. B. Dinsmoor, “The Sculptured Parapet of Athena Nike,” *AJA* 30, 1926, 1–31, and “The Nike Parapet Once More,” *AJA* 34, 1930, 281–95.

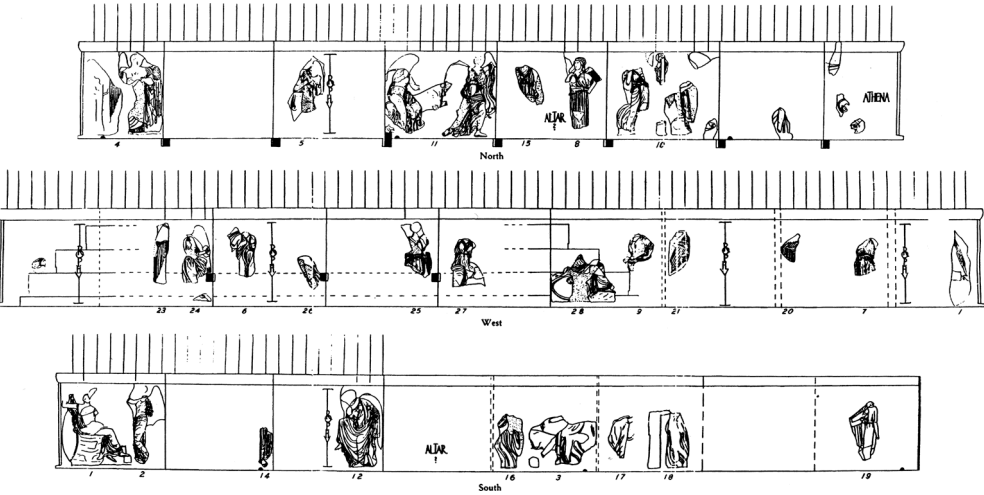


Fig. 7.2 Carpenter's restoration of the Nike parapet. (From Carpenter 1929.)

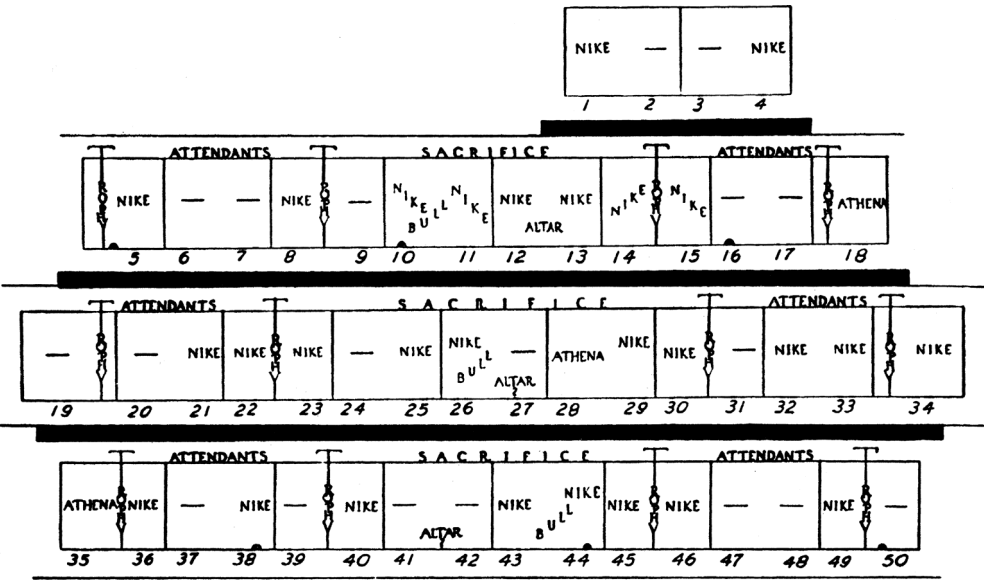


Fig. 7.3 Key to Carpenter's parapet restoration. (From Carpenter 1929.)

Each face (of unequal length) is, in effect, a repetition of the same scene – a seated Athena; winged Nikai, some of whom are setting up trophies to mark victories over Greeks and Persians and on sea as well as on land, to judge from the objects being fixed on the trophies; and a single Nike controlling a

sacrificial ox (Figs. 7.2–7). Unlike the Parthenon frieze, this is not one continuous scene. Only momentarily would the visitor climbing up have more than one face in view; where one sees an overlap, on rounding the southwest and northwest corners, the association of Nikai on an adjacent face with a seated Athena is in accord with each face seen separately. Furthermore, the individual faces do not, with their multiple trophies and Nikai busy about their individual tasks, present unified, coherent scenes. The actions and figures are broken up, so that the effect, while visually smooth, is thematically staccato.⁵

There was but one sacrificial victim to a side, centrally placed, unlike the less prominent multiplicity on the Parthenon frieze. On the north and south faces they are violent and being restrained by a Nike. On the west face only the Nike survives (Fig. 7.4; cf. Figs. 7.2 and 7.3, #27). She was restored over a century ago as kneeling on an ox, in the pose seen on many later representations (e.g. Figs. 7.9 and 7.10 below), and this has been universally and rightly accepted.⁶ One should perhaps be grateful for the lack of interest scholars have exhibited in the significance of the action represented – it is some guarantee that the restoration was not made in the service of a specific interpretation, such as the one I am offering.

⁵ A new join reinforces this impression: the ox on the south face (fr. 7098, our Fig. 7.5; M. S. Brouskari, *The Acropolis Museum: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Athens 1974, n. 334; Stewart 1985, 67) has been attached to a standing Nike whose head is turned to the front while the body is turned only slightly to the left. The effect is to isolate the ox and Nike to the right. Stewart 1985, 58, however, sees great similarity to the Parthenon frieze with flows of worshipping Nikai bringing offerings to Athena.

⁶ Kekulé 1881, 10–11; further discussion of the motif derived from the parapet in later art by C. Smith, “Nike Sacrificing a Bull,” *JHS* 7, 1887, 275–85; F. W. Goethert, “Trajanische Frieze,” *JDAI* 51, 1936, 72–81, esp. 77–8; N. Kunisch, *Die Stiertötende Nike*, Munich 1964, 83f.; T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana*, Mainz 1967; A. H. Borbein, “Campanareliefs: Typologische und stilkritische Untersuchungen,” *RömMitt E-H* 14, 1968, 43; E. Schmidt, “Bemerkungen zu einem Relief in Chalkis,” in *Wandlungen: Studien zur antiken und neueren Kunst Ernst Homann-Wedeking gewidmet*, Waldsassen 1975, 141–51; M. Rotili, *L’arco di Traiano a Benevento*, Rome 1972, 74–7; A. Gulaki, *Klassische und klassizistische Nikedarstellungen*, Bonn 1981, and *LIMC* VI, 1992, s.v. “Nike”. Its final guise in antiquity is as the central icon of Mithraism: cf. F. Saxl, *Mithras*, Berlin 1931; W. M. Brashear, “Ein mithräischer Katechismus aus Ägypten,” *AntW* 24, 1993, 2–19, with the earliest example of the type, from Ostia, at 6, fig. 4. See also below, Appendix. M. S. Brouskari, “Die Nike 7304 des Akropolismuseums und ihre Bedeutung im Zusammenhang mit späteren historischen Abenteuern der Nikebalustrade,” in N. Basgelen and M. Lugal, eds., *Festschrift für Jale Inan*, vol. 2, Istanbul 1992, 153–60, is attracted by the suggestion of S. Casson, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, vol. 2, Cambridge 1921, 171, n. 2, that this panel is in fact an Augustan replacement of the original and suggests that Sulla may have taken the original block to Rome, but grants that exposure alone may be responsible for the poor impression of its workmanship. In note 21 she denies that it could have been the work of Carpenter’s “Master C,” of whom Carpenter, in any case, has little good to say.



Fig. 7.4 Athene Nike parapet relief, Nike sacrificing; 410 BC.
Acropolis Museum, Athens. Photograph by Evangelos Tsiamis.

What ritual is being depicted? It was once thought to be the offering of “one of the most beautiful cows” to Athena Nike at the annual Panathenaea (*IG ii*² 334. 20–1), or at least an offering made to the goddess present in each of the three panels.⁷ The most obvious explanation would seem to be that the sacrifice celebrates victory and accompanies the erection of trophies. But what we know about νικητήρια (victory offerings) shows that they were social occasions, an opportunity, whether the victory was military or agonistic, for the victors to provide a generous feast.⁸ The scenes on the

⁷ E.g. Kekulé 1881, 16.

⁸ E.g. Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.33, Plut. *Phoc.* 20. 1–2. On sacrifice after battle (ἐπινίκια), see W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, vol. 3, Berkeley 1979, 186–9. Two of his examples are primarily accompaniments to the raising of trophies in the field, Xen. *An.* 4.6.27, and Diod. Sic. 16.86.6. Before the sex of the ox on the south face was known, νικητήρια or “Siegesopfern” (victory offerings) were proposed by F. Studniczka, *Die Siegesgöttin*, Leipzig 1898, 22, and P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, Leipzig 1910, from *JDAI* 18, 1903, 122–5, followed by Borbein 1968, 111.



Fig. 7.5 Athene Nike parapet relief, Nikai with victim; 410 BC. Acropolis Museum, Athens. Photograph by Nikos Daniilidis.

balustrade, by contrast, exclude mortal participation. There are no allusions to feasting and fellowship, and mortals do not even offer the sacrifices. In a sea of trophies and Nikes on each face, the central point is a victim, and, on the most conspicuous west face, the extraordinary representation (as we shall see) of the act of killing the victim. However, if the sacrifice is a celebration in the presence of Athena, the victims should be appropriate to her.

The sex of the victim cannot be told from the victim on the north face where the drapery around the Nike's left knee hides the beast's genitals (Fig. 7.5). But in 1909 a fragment showing the victim on the south face was discovered (Fig. 7.6).⁹ Autopsy, if not the photographs, leaves no doubt that the animal is male, but cannot show whether it is a bull (ταῦρος) or a castrated male (βοῦς). In either case, this is not, therefore, a normal sacrifice to the goddess; *her* victims are female (Fig. 7.7).

⁹ Heberdey 1910, 85, fig. 36; Carpenter 1929, 67.



Fig. 7.6 Athene Nike parapet relief, Nikai sacrificing a bull; 410 BC. Acropolis Museum, Athens. Photograph by Evangelos Tsiamis.

Since 1909 scholars have customarily spoken of “bulls” but have not considered what kind of sacrifice such a designation suggests. Erika Simon has faced the question squarely: for her, bulls mean chthonic sacrifices to heroes, specifically to Theseus, who has an important place in her interpretation of the temple’s east frieze; the sacrifice is taking place at the Theseia.¹⁰ In support of this identification, she points to a piece of grape vine used to fasten the hair of one of the few heads of Nikai that have been preserved, and

¹⁰ E. Simon, “La decorazione architettonica del tempio di Atena Nike sull’ acropoli di Atene,” *Museum Patavianum* 3, 1985, 271–88. Cf. “Τὰ Γλυπτὰ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ θωρακείου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Νίκης,” *Archaiognosia* 4, 1989, 11–28 and “Zur Sandallöserin der Nikebalustrade,” in M. Schmidt, ed., *Kanon: Festschrift für Ernst Berger*, *AntK-BH* 15, 1988, 69–73: Simon supposes the victims were to be conceived of as sacrificed at a βόθρος (trench), in agreement with Dinsmoor 1930. Following Kekulé 1881, Heberdey 1922–4, 61–2 and others, Simon 1985, 284 rightly sees no basis for a reconstruction with an altar on each face of the parapet, as by Carpenter (cf. our Figs. 7.2 and 7.3). The Theseia had been reorganized as a result of Cimon’s recovery of the hero’s bones on the island of Scyros (Plut. *Them.* 36).



Fig. 7.7 Athene Nike parapet relief, Athena; 410 BC. Acropolis Museum, Athens. Photograph by Evangelos Tsiamis.

suggests that one Nike on each face had this reference to the Oschophoria, held in the month Pyanopsion as were the Theseia, and said to have been established on Theseus' return from Crete. But more important for her argument is her interpretation of the frieze above the entrance on the east side of the temple (the one side, it should be noted, where the frieze is not above a band of parapet reliefs). There she sees a prominent place for Theseus among figures that include Dikê, Eurynome, Eunomia, and Eirene, in addition to the major gods. The more abstract deities embody those values she sees promoted in the plays of Euripides in which Athens and Theseus are shown as champions of justice.¹¹

¹¹ For the many studies of the friezes, see also Stewart 1985, 71, and the bibliography in Mark 1993, xiii–xix. A useful survey in D. Castriota, *Myth, Ethos and Actuality: Official Art in Fifth-century BC Athens*, Madison, WI 1992, 179–80. The south frieze is interpreted as referring to the Battle of Marathon by E. B. Harrison, "The South Frieze of the Nike Temple and the Marathon Painting in the Painted Stoa," *AJA* 76, 1972, 353–78. Cf. E. B. Harrison, "The Glories of the Athenians: Observations on the Program of the Frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike," 109–125 and E. Simon, "An Interpretation of the Nike Temple Parapet,"

Whatever is thought of the place of Theseus in the east frieze, the various problems of which cannot be examined here, it is by no means obvious that in association with the various abstract moral figures, his spirit animates the balustrade's Nikai, trophies, cattle, and Athenas. The only visual clue to the hero claimed in the parapet reliefs is extremely tenuous, the possible reference to the Oskophoria, celebrated in the same month as the Theseia, in a sprig of vine in the hair of one of the Nikai.

An identification proposed by Tonio Hölscher, that the occasion for the sacrifice was the Epitaphia, which honored the year's war dead, for whom male victims would be suitable, equally lacks any visual clues. Trophies are set up at the scene of battle, while the Epitaphia were held in the Cerameicus (Thuc. 2.34.1).¹² Perhaps too much is being made of the masculinity of the victims. Although not female, it is not evident that the animals are bulls (ταῦροι). Bulls are difficult and dangerous animals to have around – θυμοειδής (wild), if Aristotle's authority (*Hist. An.* 651^a1) is needed to bolster common, barnyard knowledge. While cattle-owners needed the services of a bull for breeding, most males would have been castrated at an early age (*Hist. An.* 632^a). In Classical times at least, bulls were unusual victims, expressive of "marked" symbolism, but their sacrifice is neither limited to, nor characteristic of, heroic rites.¹³ On the Nike parapet, one victim is lost, one is male, and the artist has avoided revealing the sex of the third. It seems

127–143 in D. Buitron-Oliver, ed., *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome*, Studies in the History of Art 49, Hanover, NH 1997.

¹² L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, 230–1, T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Würzburg 1973, 91.

¹³ P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*³, Munich 1920, 142 speaks of bulls and rams as characteristic of heroic sacrifices. Both, indeed, express marked symbolism, on which see B. Levy, *Mesocosm*, Berkeley 1990, 26, but are more common for gods than heroes. Poseidon, Zeus, Apollo, and especially Dionysus are known at times to have required bulls as victims. For Poseidon, e.g. *Il.* 11.728, 20.403–5, *IG* ii² 1146. 8 = *LSCG* 31.8, and cf. the requirement of a white ram ἐνόρχης (uncastrated) on Myconos: *IG* ii² 96.6 = *SIG*³ 1024. Apollo Hecatombaeus receives a bull in that calendar (30). For Dionysus. e.g. *IG* ii² 1006.13, 1008.14, 1028.16–17 = *Syll.*³ 717. For Zeus Soter, *IG* ii² 1030.23; for Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia, *Syll.*³ 589.14, etc. = *LSAM* 32. There are, to be sure, examples of bulls sacrificed to heroes, cf. Aristomenes, Paus. 4.32.4: the heroes at Plataea, Plut. *Arist.* 21.3.5, where the bull is black and its throat is pierced, cf. σφάξας, with prayer to Zeus and Hermes Chthonius ἐπὶ τῇν πύραν (at the fire): two for Diogenes, the heroized patron of the Athenian ephebes, *IG* ii², 1028.24. But these are rare compared to those sacrificed to gods. Note that all the above are single animals, with the exception of the two for the latecomer Diogenes. At the Theseia in 332/1, over 150 cattle were killed, to judge from the 1183 drachmae received for the hides, if each hide sold for 6–7 drachmae, cf. Jameson, "Sacrifice and Animal Husbandry in Classical Greece," [chapter 10](#) this volume, pp. 198–231. Processions and sacrifices of bulls on this scale, striking as they would have been, are most unlikely. So too, the 240 bulls for the Dionysia that H. W. Parke derives from W. S. Ferguson, "Demetrius Poliorcetes and the Hellenic League," *Hesperia* 17, 1948, 134, in *Festivals of the Athenians*, London 1977, 127.

that there is no emphasis on the sex of the victims; just enough is shown to confirm that Athena is not the object of normal sacrificial honors.¹⁴

The key to understanding, I suggest, is on the central west face that looks out over the Agora and the Panathenaic Way. Here the sacrifice is about to be consummated as the Nike raises a sword in her right hand (Fig. 7.4, cf. Figs. 7.9 and 7.10 below, in Appendix). This is the act of σφάζειν, piercing the throat of the victim and spilling its blood, very rarely portrayed in art (nowhere else, to my knowledge, in temple art), and then only in a military context. The choice of this moment says that the sacrifice is σφάγια, that class of powerful actions that has been called “*heilige Handlungen*,” expressive actions with which particular divinities seem to have only a tangential connection.¹⁵ The σφάγια with which all Athenian men were familiar was that performed on the battlefield before any engagement could occur.¹⁶ There, prayer for success, the taking of signs, and the prefiguring of the result of battle are combined in a single powerful act. There are no altars, division of meat, burning of parts, or preparation for feasting. The ground is rough and rocky, the same terrain in which trophies are set up after victory. The action is simple and concentrated, a strong assertion made at a critical moment by the community of soldiers about to risk their lives.

The only examples of the scene that date from before the parapet are in the context of battle, an early-fifth-century cup from close to the time of Marathon, in Cleveland, and a red-figure calyx krater fragment of the 420s in Malibu, nos. 1 and 2 in the Appendix below. Later examples are either certainly or possibly military, in addition to the many depictions of Nike or Victoria sacrificing, on which the influence of the parapet is clear (see Appendix and Figs. 7.9 and 7.10).

When men sacrifice before battle, the victims shown are rams or nanny goats (which we know the Spartans favored), and which men could control

¹⁴ Note too, that on the crucial west face, where Athena is near or at the center, she is seated facing *away* from the sacrificial animal, but looks over her shoulder to see what is happening, in contrast to the usual straightforward schema of votive art in which, when an animal is presented to gods, they look directly at it and their votaries: e. g. U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs*, Berlin 1960, fig. 36; G. Neumann, *Probleme des griechischen Weihreliefs*, Tübingen 1979, figs. 30a, 38b; E. van Straten, “Greek Sacrificial Representations,” in T. Linders and G. Nördquist, eds., *Gifts to the Gods, Boreas* 15, Uppsala 1987, 160, fig. 2; Dinsmoor 1926, 21–2, moves Athena to dead center of the west face and has the sacrifice “on the steps of the temple.” But the viewer would not have been able to see the steps behind the parapet (cf. Fig. 7.2), and I do not find any significance in the sacrifice taking place at this point rather than somewhat to the east or the west.

¹⁵ Cf. A. D. Nock, “The Cult of Heroes,” *HThR* 37, 1944, 158–9.

¹⁶ Cf. “The Military Mantike,” ch. 3 in Pritchett 1979, and Jameson, “Sacrifice before Battle,” chapter 6 this volume, pp. 98–126.

by bestriding or by resting one knee on the back. Larger animals required preliminary stunning with an axe or mallet.¹⁷ Here incongruously the delicate but superhuman Nike easily masters the largest sacrificial victim, while the city's goddess observes the action.

In a recent discussion, T. Hölscher, who does not refer to either Jameson's or, explicitly, Simon's discussions of the parapet, notes that the ritual scenes are not realistic "not only because . . . executed by divine girls," but also because the erection of trophies and the offering of sacrifices could not have taken place at the same time. His view of the sacrifices is that they represent "most likely an *ad hoc* victory celebration, typical after successful battles," not the Oschophoria, as argued by Simon.¹⁸

Time in these scenes is compressed. Victory is sought through sacrifice, and victory has been won. We have the powerful action at the beginning and the erection of trophies at the end. The imagery telescopes the whole process, as sometimes happens in narrative art (on the west frieze of the temple a trophy and battle are both shown).¹⁹ The message is blunt, even brutal: Victory and Athena guarantee the success of the Athenian people, committed to battle. Nike, under Athena's eyes, ensures by the violent act of killing that the Athenians will win.²⁰

The contrast between this unambiguous and powerful message and the sensuous elegance of the style is striking. Clearly one should not try to date the creation of the sculpture by the Athenians' supposed view of the world at any historical moment. But if it is accepted that on other grounds the parapet reliefs date from the 'teens of the fifth century (stylistically, before

¹⁷ Cf. the Pan Painter's *pelike* in Athens, NM 9683, where the Egyptian would-be sacrificer of Heracles swings a large mallet at the hero: J. D. Beazley, *The Pan-Painter*, Mainz 1974, Pl. 10 and p. 4, "he is fetching the hero an ox-felling crack": ARV² 554, 82. For an axe, e.g. the Caeretan hydria in Copenhagen Nat. Mus. 13.567, J. Hemelrijk, *Caeretan Hydrias*, Mainz 1981, Pls. 67–8, n. 15: a drawing in M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks*, Chicago 1989, fig. 19.

¹⁸ Hölscher 1998, 174. Cf. Simon 1985, 284.

¹⁹ A trophy in a battle scene in the heroon at Gjölbäski-Trysa, which also depicts a battlefield σφάγια, in Eichler 1950: the trophy, Pl. 14 and p. 60: the sacrifice, Pl. 19 (upper left) and p. 62.

²⁰ Stewart 1985, 67, catches the effect of the whole balustrade, "the narrative here becomes a repeated affirmation, a rhetorical statement and restatement of a single abstract concept: victory, victory, victory" – an abstract concept, I would add, with a vivid correlate from the symbolic language of ritual. Whether "the sunny tranquility of these scenes affirms the promise of Athena Nike, as embodied in the attributes of the cult statue within, the doffed helmet and the pomegranate" (58) is another matter. Stewart, after an interesting comparison of the parapet with contemporary literature, concludes that "in this highly strung world, at war for decades, increasingly unstable both emotionally and politically, mesmerized by Alcibiades, obsessed with conquest and glory, victory needed to be continually present to the eye in all sorts of ways in order to transpire" (70).

the Erechtheion sculpture of the last decade), we are entitled to speculate on the coincidence of such a style and such a theme. Perhaps we should conclude that art, politics, and cult have their own internal dynamics and that this is not a case where links can be established between them. But I would prefer to think that the same reckless confidence and loss of a realistic sense of what they could achieve that lured the Athenians to Sicily and into refusing terms of peace when they held the advantage is seen here in the combination of insouciant mannerism and blunt celebration of power.

Appendix

Representations of the killing of the sacrificial victim (to the end of the fourth century BC).

Before the Nike Parapet

1. Five joining fragments of a red-figure cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art (26.242), ca. 490–480 BC. A beardless warrior, right, wearing an *exomis* (sleeveless vest) over a *chiton* (tunic) and a Chalcidian helmet, rests his left knee on the back of a ram, holding its muzzle with his left hand and driving his sword through its throat with his right. The artist has been compared to the Eucharides Painter by C. G. Boulter, *CVA USA*, Fasc. 15, Princeton 1971, 23–4, Pl. 37.1 (ARV² 1570.12 and 1636.43 bis); Jameson, “Sacrifice before Battle”, [chapter 6](#) this volume, pp. 98–126, Fig. 6.1. (Photograph: courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art, Dudley P. Allen Fund.)

2. Fragment of an Attic red-figure calyx-krater, ca. 430 BC, formerly in the Bareiss Collection (no. 407), now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, CA (Getty Museum number: 86.AE.213) ([Fig. 7.8](#)). On the upper of two registers, two warriors with spears fight while part of another figure is seen on the right, and on the left a fourth figure (the upper part of whose body is missing) bestrides a ram which has been forced on to the ground. This figure’s left hand holds the left horn of the ram, forcing its head up, while his right hand plunges a sword into its throat. See *Greek Vases: Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection*, Malibu, CA 1983, 106; A. Griffiths, “Patroklos the Ram (Again),” *BICS* 36, 1989, 139 and Pl. 7. Attributed to the Geneva Painter by Elfrieda Knauer (see Griffiths [1989](#)).

In a lower band two warriors drag a bearded dead man, right, towards a grieving, beardless male holding three spears and a shield. The scenes



Fig. 7.8 Attic red-figure calyx krater fragment; ca. 430 BC. Formerly in the Bareiss Collection, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, CA.

seem to be part of a narrative. Griffiths has interpreted the upper band as showing Hector and Ajax preparing to fight for Patroclus' body, while below the Greeks bring the body to Achilles. Furthermore he wishes to connect the scenes with a stamnos of the Triptolemos painter in Basel (A. Griffiths, "A Ram Called Patroklos," *BICS* 32, 1985, 49–50, Pl. 4). On the latter a dead ram, its throat almost cut through (as one would expect with a sacrificial victim), lies on its back between two warriors, each being restrained by an older man. The ram is labeled ΠΑΤ[. Griffiths proposes that the scene is drawn from a description of the fight for Patroclus' body, perhaps by Aeschylus, in which the gods substitute a ram for the corpse; the other side of the stamnos shows the grieving Achilles visited by the delegation of Achaean. It is not clear how the viewer of the Malibu krater could have understood the human corpse in the lower register as "really mutton," as Griffiths puts it. The killing of the ram in the upper register (by Thetis, Griffiths suggests) would in any case have been taken to be a victim sacrificed

for success in the battle taking place to the right, whatever the ultimate fate of the animal's body.²¹

Later than the Nike parapet (i.e. later than the fifth century)

3. The Heroon from Gjölbaschi-Trysa, now in Vienna, early fourth century BC, in F. Eichler, *Die Reliefs der Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa*, Vienna 1950, 62 and Pl. 19, upper left; W. Oberleitner, "Die Neuaufstellung des Heroons von Trysa," *AntW* 24, 1993, 135, fig. 4. A helmeted man kneels on a ram, pulling its head back with his left hand while his right raises a sword; beside him stands another helmeted man, with breastplate, shield, and spear, who raises his right hand in prayer.

4. Gold coins from Abydos, 411 – ca. 387 BC. "Nike, wearing *chiton* (tunic) and *peplos* (robe), kneeling left on ram which she is preparing to stab with sword held in her right hand; her left hand grasps ram's mouth," W. Wroth, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Troas*, London 1894, repr. Bologna, 1964, 2 and Pl. I.7; B. Head and G. K. Jenkins, *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, London 1959, 32, n. 17, and Pl. 18. If we are correct in seeing this as, in origin, an Athenian image, the coin should come from either just before Abydos became a Spartan stronghold in 411, or after that period.

5. Gold coins from Lampsacus, ca. 390–380 BC (Fig. 7.9a). See G. K. Jenkins, *Ancient Greek Coins*, London 1972. Nike, with drapery falling to her knees, bestrides a ram; her right hand holds the sword about to enter the victim's throat and her left hand pulls back its head by its left horn. B. Head and G. K. Jenkins, *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, London 1959, 33, n. 18, and Pl. 18; C. Kraay and M. Hirmer, *Greek Coins*, London 1966, Pl. 202, n. 731; Jenkins 1972, fig. 280. Cf. our Fig. 7.9b. Nike erecting a trophy, another motif taken from the Nike parapet, in somewhat later coins of the same city. Head and Jenkins 1959, 33, no. 27, and Pl. 18; Kraay and Hirmer 1966, Pl. 202, no. 731; Jenkins 1972, fig. 288, Schmidt 1975, no. 8. Nike sacrificing a ram is found on Syracusan coins of ca. 214–212 BC: R. Calciati, *Corpus nummorum Siculorum – La monetazione di bronzo*, vol. 2, Milan 1986, no. 233.

²¹ Mark W. Edwards, to whom I am grateful for helpful discussion of the scenes on the vases used by A. Griffiths, "A Ram Called Patroklos," *BICS* 32, 1985, 49–50, thinks Patroclus more likely than Ajax as Hector's opponent in the upper register, while the sacrificer could be Achilles (cf. his prayer to Zeus at *Il.* 16. 220). The sacrifice on the battlefield before engagement is not found in Homer, but had become indispensable by the fifth century BC.



Fig. 7.9 Gold coins of Lampsacus. (a) Nike, with drapery falling to her knees, bestrides a ram; her right hand holds the sword about to enter the victim's throat and her left hand pulls back its head by its left horn; ca. 390–380 BC. British Museum, London. Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. (b) Nike erecting a trophy, another motif taken from the Nike parapet, in somewhat later coins of Lampsacus; ca. 360–350 BC. British Museum, London. Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

6. Marble relief from Larymna, Boeotia, now in the Chalkis Museum. The top is broken off. A figure wearing a short *chiton* (tunic) and *chlamys* (short cloak) bestrides a ram whose muzzle he (?) grasps and pulls up with the left hand while the right hand, holding a short sword or dagger, is drawn back. G. Rodenwaldt, "Thespische Reliefs," *JDAI* 28, 1913, 309–39 and Pl. 27; E. Schmidt, "Bemerkungen zu einem Relief in Chalkis," in *Wandlungen: Studien zur antiken und neueren Kunst Ernst Homann-Wedeking gewidmet*, Waldsassen 1975, 141–51.

7. Electrum *stater* from Cyzicus, ca. 370 BC: Nike sacrificing a ram (Fig. 7.10). K. Scheffold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst*, Basel and Stuttgart 1960, 301, no. 505, Schmidt 1975, 146, no. 9.

8. Electrum coins from Cyzicus, early fourth century BC. Bearded man wearing *pilos* (felt cap) and *chlamys* (short cloak) kneels on a ram whose head he holds with his left hand while his right hand holds a sword, point down, in front of him. I know this only from Schmidt 1975, Pl. 29C. There have been attempts to associate this and other sacrifices by men with the Cabiri, rather than with Nikai. H. von Fritze, "Biryti und die Kabiren auf Münzen," *ZfN* 24, 1904, 105, and "Die Elektronprägung von Kyzikos," *Nomisma* 7, 1912,



Fig. 7.10 Scene from frieze of Basilica Ulpia, Rome; early second century AD.

n. 156, Pl. 5.4 [*non vidi*] and Rodenwaldt 1913. Schmidt 1975, 42–3, has shown the weakness of this identification and inclines to Odysseus. As for the *pilos* worn by this sacrificer and the bearded head on coins from Lampsacus, described usually as a Cabirus, e.g. Kraay and Hirmer 1966, 202, no. 732, it should be noted that a “bronze cap” *πίλος χαλκοῦς* (Ar. *Lys.* 562) appears on men fighting on the frieze of the Nike temple. See C. Blümel, “Der Fries des Tempels der Athena Nike,” *JDAI* 65–6, 1950–1, figs. 10 and 24).

9. Silver and bronze coins from Gela, Group XIII, ca. 339–301 BC (cf. Group XIV, second to first century BC). G. K. Jenkins, *The Coinage of Gela*, Berlin 1970, 113 and Pl. 32, nos. 552–3: “A warrior or hero in helmet and a cloak, in the act of sacrificing a ram – for this type is repeated on the later coins of the Geloans at Phintias (Lecata).” The sacrificer bestrides the ram which rises up; his right hand, holding the sword, is drawn back, and apparently he seizes the ram’s left horn with his left hand. Cf. Calciati 1986, 30–3, second–first-century BC warrior, naked except for helmet and cloak, about to sacrifice a ram, nos. 61–71. Probably the founder Antiphemus: Jenkins 1970, 114–15; Leucaspis, according to G. Manganaro, “Per la storia dei culti in Sicilia,” *PP* 20 (1965), 168. Syracusan coins identify a warrior at an altar with a dead ram, supine, at his feet as Leucaspis. See Jenkins 1972, 169 and fig. 421; *pace* Jenkins, the forepart of the ram, not only the head, is visible. The dead victim is, I believe, unique, aside from the ram on the stamnos of the Triptolemus Painter (Griffiths 1985, Pl. 4). The altar in the background precludes this being a further stage in battlefield σφάγια.

10. Apulian red-figure volute crater in Ruvo (K 53). H. Sichtermann, *Griechischen Vasen von Unteritalien aus der Sammlung Jatta in Ruvo*,

Tübingen 1966, 52 and Pls. 86–8. Winged female figure places left knee on ram, her left hand pulling his head back by the horn, her right hand holding a short sword. Armed heroes, Athena, and another goddess or heroine look on. Sichtermann remarks that only fantasy can find a unified scene here. According to Simon 1988, sacrifices are being made to Theseus and other heroes.

Fourth century BC or later?

11. Terracotta token from the Στρατήγιον (military HQ) in the Athenian Agora. “A nude, bearded man right, with ram (?) in front of him, grasping ram’s head with left hand, ram’s tail with right,” M. L. Lang and M. Crosby, *The Athenian Agora, X. Weights, Measures and Tokens*, Princeton 1964, 128 and Pl. 32, C12. The right hand more likely holds the sword and is drawn back.

12. Lead tessera, at one time in the collection of Arthur Engel in Athens. A. Engel, “Choix de tessères grecques en plomb,” *BCH* 8, 1884, Pl. VI, no. 223, and p. 20. Winged figure (“génie” male?), bestrides a ram while holding a sword and the ram’s horn with the left hand (the ram’s head is not yet pulled back) while the right hand is raised in a gesture of invocation.

The most important type of Greek ritual, animal sacrifice (thusia, θυσία), involved the selection, consecration, killing, division, and burning of certain parts of a domestic animal. The procedure was used as a symbolic, expressive action to define both the relationships between humanity and the cosmic order and those that existed between men. It was also the primary, for most people the sole, means by which meat became available for consumption. The feasting that resulted from sacrifice was of practical as well as ideological significance for the participants. Usually at this point the gods seem to go their own way and mankind by itself enjoys the feast, which, however, is accompanied and followed by songs, libations, and prayers (e.g., Hom. *Il.* 1.467–74). Normal sacrifice made relatively little use of the concept of a feast *for* the gods. The whole animal was offered to the gods. Epic poetry, while speaking of a feast of the gods (*dais theon*, *Od.* 8.76), also specifies that the libation and savor (*loibe, knise*, *Il.* 4.448 = 24.69) are their share of the fairly-divided feast, *dais eise*. Prometheus's unequal division of the victim is described in Hesiod's *Theogony* (535–57) as the origin, in a mythic past when gods and men ate together, of the fact that all the edible meat is available for men to eat. Normally there are no portions set aside for the gods, cooked or uncooked. Normally the Greeks feasted in honor of the gods, perhaps as guests of the gods, but the gods did not share their table.¹

But there was another widespread type of ritual in which the Greeks explicitly honored supernatural figures by using the conventions of entertaining a guest: they issued an invitation (καλεῖν), they set out a couch (κλίνη) on which they laid out coverings (στορνύναι στρωμνάς) and put beside it (παρατιθέναι) a table (τράπεζα) which they adorned (κοσμεῖν, a term used

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¹ On the issue of table-fellowship, see A. D. Nock, "The Cult of Heroes," *HTHR* 37, 1944, 141–73, esp. 148–57. Recent studies of Greek feasting, including some discussion of *theoxenia*, are P. Schmitt-Pantel, "Banquet et cité grecque," *MÉFRA* 97, 1985 135–58, and "Sacrificial Meal and Symposium," in O. Murray, ed., *Symptica*, Oxford 1990, 14–33; L. Bruit, "Les dieux aux festins des mortels: Théoxènes et *xeniai*," in A.-F. Laurens, ed., *Entre hommes et dieux: Le convive, le héros, le prophète*, Paris 1989, 12–25, and "The Meal at the Hyakinthia: Ritual Consumption and Offering," in Murray 1990, 162–74.

also of preparing the couch) with, among other things, dishes containing food and drink. Sometimes objects representing the supernatural guests were present. At Chaeronea the scepter of Agamemnon was honored with daily sacrifices in the house of the man serving as priest for the year, and a table was set beside it, “full of all sorts of meats and cakes” (Paus. 9.40.11–12). In Athens the panoply of Ajax was laid out on a couch adorned for the hero (Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 2.19).²

No single noun was used by the Greeks to refer to what was a distinctive and easily recognized procedure, and it is necessary therefore to list the tell-tale words that show its use. Wilamowitz recommended the Latin term *lectisternium* which was used for a similar rite, perhaps largely taken over from the Greeks.³ The most general terms are *xenia* (ἡ ξενία or τὰ ξένια) and its cognates, such as *xenismos*, which refer to hospitality towards both men and gods, a concept whose importance in Greek culture can hardly be overestimated.⁴ Scholars most commonly have used the word *theoxenia* (from τὰ θεοξένια, [rites of] hosting the gods) while recognizing that it occurs in fact only of particular festivals – of Apollo, at Delphi and Pellene, and for the Dioscuri at Acragas and Paros, and probably elsewhere (e.g., Carthaea on Ceos and Tenos).⁵ The fact that Theoxenia was used for different festivals and for at least two gods is an indication that a common ritual underlay the name. On the model of the word *Theoxe(i)nia* was formed *Heroxeinia* on Thasos.⁶ Since it is important as well as convenient to identify a distinctive series of actions I shall be using *theoxenia*, as have most scholars, while

² Cf. U. Kron, “Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen: Geschichte, Mythos, Kult und Darstellungen,” *AthMitt-BH* 5, 1976, 173.

³ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Die Glaube der Hellenen*, vol. 2, Tübingen 1932, 346. For the Roman rite, see G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 3rd edn, Munich 1922, 421–3; K. Latte, “Römische Religionsgeschichte,” in *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* V, 4, Munich 1960, 242–4.

⁴ See, e.g., G. Herman, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City*, Cambridge 1987.

⁵ F. Pfister, “Theoxenia,” *RE* XII A, 1934, 2256–8. For the related Theodaisia, perhaps only for Dionysus, see Pfister 1934, 1177; W. Kruse, “Theodaisios, 1,” *RE* XII A, 1934, 1177; W. Sontheimer, “Theodaisios, 2,” *RE* XII A, 1934, 1178. Cf. τὰ Διονύσια τὰ ξενικά at Callatis, D. M. Pippidi, *Scythica Minora: Recherches sur les colonies grecques du littoral Roumain de la mer Noire*, Bucharest and Amsterdam 1975, 138–41 and τοῖς τε Διονυσίοις καὶ Ξενοίοις in the Troad, L. Robert, *Monnaies antiques en Troade*, Paris and Geneva 1960, 27.

⁶ *Heroxeinia*, late fourth century BC: *LSS* 69, 3; F. Salviat, “Une nouvelle loi Thasienne,” *BCH* 82, 1958, 254–9. *Heroixenia* [sic], first century AD: J. Pouilloux and C. Dunant, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos*, vol. 2, Études Thasiennes 5, Paris 1958, n. 192. On *xenia* for heroes, cf. Hsch. ἡρόχια: τὰ θεοδασία οἱ δὲ ἑορτήν, οἱ δὲ ἱερά. Perhaps ἡρόχια, cf. ὄχη = τροφή in F. Deneken, *de Theoxeniis*, Diss. Berlin 1881, 47; Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 7.68, γίνεται ἐν Δελφοῖς ἥρωσι ξένια ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ξένια καλεῖν τοὺς ἥρωας (in Delphi there are *xenia* for heroes, in which, it seems, the god invites the heroes to *xenia*).

granting that, strictly speaking, the more cumbersome “*xenia* for gods or heroes” would be more accurate.⁷

Why did this mode of recognizing the gods exist beside and also, as we shall see, in combination with normal sacrifice (*thusia*)? Were there distinct reasons for its use? Was it regarded as particularly appropriate for certain forms of the supernatural? Before we can attempt to answer these questions we need to place the procedure in the context of the full range of Greek offerings of foodstuffs and to try to see just what went on in this symbolic drama. Specifically, we need to determine what was offered to the gods – the normal, edible foods of men or raw parts of the sacrificed animals, and whether gods and men were conceived of as eating together, at the same time, in the same space.

Food offerings

Cakes, breads, pots of cooked grain, and fruits are all found as gifts, deposited on altars, or at other sacred places such as springs and caves, or before images or aniconic symbols of deities.⁸ Requirements that various cakes be deposited on altars are found in *leges sacrae*, e.g., *LSCG* 21, fourth century BC, for Asclepius and his associates. As most altars were designed for a fire to be built upon them, most of what was placed upon them was intended to be burnt. In Aristophanes’ *Plutus* (676–81), however, the priest of Asclepius is spied at night “consecrating” (ἡγίζεν) into his sack the cakes that had escaped the flames on the altar, together with cakes and dried figs that had been deposited on the sacred table (ἱερὰ τράπεζα), and that were not meant to be burnt. Meat placed on a table in the sanctuary was frequently assigned explicitly to cult personnel, as many inscriptions attest.⁹ Inscriptions do not specify the fate of inexpensive vegetarian offerings that were not burnt (either intentionally or by chance) but if valuable parts of the victim were to be removed from sacred tables by priests, it is evident that they could

⁷ F. Jacoby, on *FGrH* 328, Philoch. fr. 183, acknowledged Wilamowitz’s observation but retained *theoxenia*. *Theoxenia*, fem., does not occur in Greek, nor the singular *theoxenion*; *theoxeniai* in Bruit 1990, 170, is a mistake of the translator for the French “théoxénies.”

⁸ See L. Ziehen, “Opfer,” *RE* XXXV, 1939, 582–6. Bruit 1990, 173, refers to her 1982 Paris dissertation, *Sacrifices non-sanglants et offrandes végétales en Grèce ancienne: Rites et idéologies*, whose publication would be most welcome since no adequate study exists. On cakes, see E. Kearns, “Cakes in Greek Sacrifice Regulations,” in R. Hägg, ed., *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence*, Stockholm 1994, 65–70.

⁹ See below, note 83. For recognition of the priests’ claims to the god’s offering, cf. Artem. *On.* 3.2–3.

take lesser offerings as well. The fate of offerings in the practical world of men, once they had been consecrated to the gods either by burning or by deposition in a sacred place (such as a sacred table), was of secondary importance or even indifference. Neither concern nor lack of concern with what happens to them is inherent in the action, as comparative evidence shows. For the most part the Greeks did not continue the drama after the act of consecration.

Aristophanes has chosen to turn a normal practice into an act of clerical larceny, just as the comic poets, following Hesiod, treated the conventions of animal sacrifice as an elaborate deception of the gods.¹⁰

Bloodless offerings were made both separately and in combination with animal sacrifice. On the basis of the former there was developed a theory of primeval, pure offerings, free of the taint of blood.¹¹ In practice, however, the strict limiting of offerings to vegetarian foods was associated with sectarian groups following a distinct ideology, e.g. *LSCG* 5. But animal sacrifice was regularly accompanied by the burning of grains and cakes, e.g. *LSCG* 151 A 27–8, in this case “on the hearth,” *eph’hestian*. These, more than the burning of primarily inedible parts of the animal, carried with them the concept of food and of eating. But the offerings we have considered so far did not make use of the metaphor of a meal with its variety of components, its distinctive furniture and its formal structure.

A distinct category of food offerings, however, was described as a “dinner” (*deipnon*). The best-known examples were the *deipna* of Hecate, deposited where three roads met and often associated with apotropaic and cathartic rites. They were the inverse of customary meals with entertainment of guests. The food, deposited in dangerous places, and the supernatural guest were equally to be avoided. Eating such food was a mark of shamelessness or desperate poverty.¹² Positive connotations of *deipna* for deities are relatively rare, e.g., a daily offering for Apollo on Delos,¹³ the *deipna* to which the dead warriors of Plataea were summoned (*Plut. Arist.* 21), and for the

¹⁰ E.g., *Men. Dys.* 447–53 and the examples collected by Clem. Al. *Strom.* 7.6.

¹¹ Cf. W. Pötscher, *Theophrastos περὶ εὐσεβείας*, Leiden 1964; L. Bruit, “Sacrifices à Delphes: Sur deux figures d’Apollon,” *RevHistRel* 101, 1984, 341–6.

¹² Dog (not a part of the Greek diet): *Ar. Plut.* 594–7; *Dem.* 54.39; *Lucian Dial. mort.* 1.1; *Plut. Mor.* 708f, 280b, 290d; the fish *trigla*, for the three-formed goddess at the meeting of three ways: *Charicleides ap. Athen.* 7.325a (*PCG*, IV, fr. 1). A group of buried deposits in Sardis, each containing the skeleton of a puppy, female when the gender can be determined, a knife, and sets of dishes, was possibly a local equivalent of *deipna* for Hecate, an important goddess in neighboring Caria. See C. H. Greenewalt, Jr., *Ritual Dinners in Early Historic Sardis*, University of California Publications in Classical Studies 17, Berkeley 1978, *passim*, with 43–5 for Hecate.

¹³ For Apollo on Delos there were daily sacrifices “and a portion (*meris*) and dinner (*deipnon*) were set beside him”: *Hyperides* fr. 68.

annual celebration of two Attic cults of Athena and her circle. In these last the emphasis was on bringing food to the gods (*deipnophoria*) rather than on receiving and entertaining them.¹⁴

At a more informal level, the Greeks had the custom of making an offering of food to the gods at the meals of men. It is attested for early Greece and, alongside the more conspicuous libations of wine, probably continued to some degree in later centuries, but by then particularly at more formal and public occasions.¹⁵ This practice made use of the idea and vocabulary of first fruits: ἀπαρχαί, ἀπάρχεσθαι, etc. A portion of the food to be eaten by men was given to the gods and thereby made the rest of the food usable or safe. It is an example of the ritual action felt to be necessary at the beginning of any undertaking, not least the vital act of eating. The gods were incidental to the human meal.

Between the simple offering at meals and the more structured and formal *theoxenia* comes the offering made by Eumaeus the swineherd in his hut on Ithaca when he entertains the disguised Odysseus (*Od.* 14.434–6). A five-year-old boar is sacrificed according to usual procedures. When the cooked meat is ready to be eaten, a seventh part is given to Hermes and the Nymphs by being burnt in the fire. Bread, an essential feature of the human meal, is passed around after this ceremony and is probably not part of the offering. The offering is apparently referred to as *argmata* (446), a

¹⁴ The *deipna* implied by the persons called *deipnophoroi* in the Attic cults of the daughters of Cecrops (Aglauros, Pandrosos, Herse) and of Athena Sciras may have been in effect *theoxenia* for exclusively female deities. See E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary*, Madison 1983, 68, who takes the seats carried by women on the Parthenon frieze to be the equivalent of *klinai* for male deities. For the Cecropidae the lexicographers say that many brought *deipna* and did so sumptuously (πολυτελῶς), which Jacoby (on *FGrH* 328 F 183, where he has assembled all the evidence) takes to mean that they competed with each other (cf. Polemon on the Theoxenia of Delphi, ap. Athen. 9.372a). It seems to have been a popular practice on the part of individual families with no suggestion that sacrifice and, as a consequence, meat were involved. The *deipnophoroi* of Athena Sciras were evidently selected members of the *genos* of the Salaminioi (*LSS* 19, 21, and 49); the *genos* also had a priestess of Aglauros and Pandrosos (*LSS* 12, 45). W. S. Ferguson, “The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion,” *Hesperia* 7, 1938, 36, suggested that the *deipna* “included, or were, the *artoi*” (breads) mentioned in the inscription (l. 41, 43–6). Jacoby notes that the *deipnophoria* resembles *theoxenia* in that it is a rite “which by its nature is not confined to a particular festival or a particular deity.” Its use, however, was considerably more limited. In the mysteries of Zeus Panamarus at Panamara in Hellenistic Caria, priests were praised for relinquishing τὰ ἀνενεχθῶντα τῷ θεῷ δ[εῖ]πνα (the dinners dedicated to the god): G. Cousin, “Inscriptions du sanctuaire de Zeus Panamarus,” *BCH* 28, 1904, 20, n.1 B, 7; on the cult see P. Roussel, “Les mystères de Panamara,” *BCH* 51, 1927, 123–37.

¹⁵ See *Il.* 9.219; *Od.* 9.231; Hes. *Op.* 748 with Plutarch in Hes. *fr.* 95 Sandbach; Theoph. *de Pietate* ap. Porph. *Abst.* 2.20. The fullest treatment of the subject may still be in my unpublished dissertation, *The Offering at Meals: Its Place in Greek Sacrifice*, Chicago 1949.

variant for *aparchai*, “first fruits.” The gods are not summoned and a place is not prepared for them, in which respects the ritual differs from *theoxenia*, but nonetheless it can be seen as an early precedent for the more elaborate ceremony of later centuries.¹⁶

Tables and couches

Only with the use of the language and furniture of hospitality, the same for gods and men, do we get the fully developed concept of an entertainment of gods and heroes.¹⁷ Thus, an explicit invitation “to hospitality” (ἐπὶ ξένια) was addressed to Apollo and Homer by the Argives when they performed sacrifice (Ael. *VH* 9.15). The Elean women’s song to Dionysus to come with the Charites to his temple has been interpreted attractively as such an invitation.¹⁸

Isolated references to tables for gods are somewhat ambiguous because of the practice we have already noted of depositing certain uncooked parts of the sacrificed animal upon tables located in sanctuaries. It is the preparation of the couch that most clearly signals the acting out of hospitality to supernatural guests. A new text from Selinus (discussed in some detail below) takes the practice back to the mid-fifth century BC. Hitherto the earliest reference to such a couch has been a fragment of an Athenian inscription, now in Chalcis, of ca. 430 BC: *IG* i³ 255 = *IG* i² 190; *LSCG* 11.¹⁹ Side A has a list of rituals, including sacrifice, to be performed by a subdivision of the

¹⁶ Recent discussions are E. Kadletz, “The Sacrifice of Eumaios the Pig Herder,” *GRBS* 25, 1984, 99–105; A. Penopoulou, “The Sacrifice of Eumaeus Reconsidered,” *GRBS* 28, 1987, 135–49.

¹⁷ Herodotus’ description (6.139) of the Athenian entertainment of the Lemnians in the Prytaneion uses precisely the language of hospitality to the gods: . . . κλίνην στρώσαντες ὡς εἶχον κάλλιστα καὶ τράπεζαν ἐπιπλήν ἁγαθῶν πάντων (a couch adorned as beautifully as possible, and a table full of good things).

¹⁸ Deneken 1881, 46, n. 1; Plut. *Mor.* 269b (*Aet. Gr.* 36); Page, *PMG* 1962, 871; cf. Paus. 6.26.1. Like Homer, Pindar was publicly invited to the Delphic Theoxenia. *Vit. Pind.* gives three versions of the invitation, one of which is Πίνδαρος ἵτω ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦ θεοῦ (Pindar is to be at the dinner of the god). Schol. *Pind. Nem.* 7.68 speaks of *xenia* for the heroes at Delphi in which the god seems to invite the heroes (among whom would be Pindar) *epi xenia*. However, an invitation at Plataea to the dead from the great battle to come to “dinner and blood offerings” (ἐπὶ τὸν δεῖπνον καὶ τὴν αἵμακουρίαν, Plut. *Arist.* 21) comes after the sacrifice of a bull, and although it is followed by libations and apparently by drinking on the part of the participants, there may have been no human feast or preparation of table and couches for the supernatural guests.

¹⁹ The stone’s Athenian origin is assured both by its contents and the fact that it is by the same hand, to the degree that hands can be identified, as the “Prytaneion decree,” *IG* i³ 131. See H. T. Wade-Gery, “Studies in Attic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century BC,” *BSA* 33, 1932–3, 123–7.

Athenian state, perhaps a *trittys* (cf. A9), or by a regional grouping such as the Marathonian Tetrapolis. A table is mentioned three times in connection with three groups of divinities, Eros, Hippolytus, and Aphrodite (?) (A 4–7), Zeus and Heracles (A 11f.), and Apollo (and others?) (A15f.). In the first and third instances the table is preceded by reference to the spreading (στορνύναι) of coverings over something, probably a couch (cf. A 15f.), possibly a seat (*thronos*). It seems that sacrifices were prescribed for major figures (Aphrodite?, Zeus Tropaeus, Apollo) and the preparation of a couch and a table for their lesser associates (Eros and Hippolytus, Heracles, and someone associated with Apollo).

This pattern, animals for the central figure in a group of deities, a table for an associate, may also be seen in a mid-fifth-century calendar from the Acropolis on which a kid is prescribed for Dionysus and a table for Semele: *LSCG* 1, 17–19 = *IG* i³ 234, i² 840. The calendar from Thoricus in south Attica later in the century (*SEG* XXXIII, 147) shows several examples of the same practice: tables for Procris when Cephalus gets a sheep (16f.), for the Heroines of Thoricus when Thoricus gets a sheep in the month Boedromion (18f.), and again for the Heroines of Thoricus when Thoricus gets an ox in Maimakterion (28–30). In Mounichion when Demeter receives a pregnant ewe and Zeus Hercius a sheep (probably at this time – the entry is added on the side of the stone), the local nymph Philonis receives a *trapeza* (44f.). In Thargelion the Heroines of Hyperpedius have a table when the hero Hyperpedius receives a sheep and Zeus a lamb (48f.), as do the Heroines of Pylochus when Pylochus receives a piglet (50f.).²⁰

Another example comes from the fourth-century calendar of Marathon *LSCG* 20 B 51–54 = *IG* ii² 1358: the hero Galius gets a ram costing 12 drachmae, other expenses amount to 8 drachmae, and the Tritopatores, the collective ancestors, are to have a table costing 1 drachma. In these cases, where the offerings to be put on the table are not specified but a price is assigned, one must suppose that food in addition to the sacrificial victim, and perhaps certain accoutrements for feasting such as vessels and a crown (cf. *LSCG* 55, 25 = *IG* ii² 1366, *Syll.*³ 1042), had to be purchased for the table or, in the case of equipment, replaced periodically. Any meat from the main sacrifice to be set on the table alongside of other edible food is likely to have been

²⁰ Ed. princ. of the full text by G. Daux, “Le calendrier de Thorikos au Musée J. Paul Getty,” *AntCl* 52, 1983, 150–74, but he was misled by the Ionian alphabet to date the stone to the early fourth century, whereas the lettering points to ca. 430 BC. See D. M. Lewis, “A New Athenian Decree,” *ZPE* 60, 1985, 108, n. 3; R. Parker, “Festivals of the Attic Demes,” in T. Linders and G. Nordquist, eds., *Gifts to the Gods, Boreas* 15, Uppsala 1987, 138, n. 11. This last article contains an appendix on the Thoricus calendar (144–7).

one or more cooked portions, not a raw part of the victim. *Trapeza* in these instances seems to be shorthand for the setting out of a meal for the guest, with or without the preparation of a couch.²¹

In the cult of Apollo and Asclepius at Erythrae in the early fourth century BC, there is both a table for whichever god is the object of sacrifice, furnished with meat from the sacrifice, and also a table for the other god, who receives the same amount from the same animal; if the offerings were *thusta* (offerings to be burnt – incense? cakes?) without animal sacrifice, the other god got two cakes of different kinds. The priest takes what is on the table as his *gera* (honors) and receives a monetary payment as well, two obols for the table of the god being honored with sacrifice, one obol for the other god's. It seems he was expected to prepare both tables appropriately, but more sumptuously for the god receiving the sacrifice. The meat is specifically three portions of meat (τρεῖς σάρκες, or τρία κρέα) and *splanchna*. The latter, the innards, were the first meat roasted over the altar fire in sacrifice and their consumption was the clearest demonstration of fellowship among the sacrificers. Sometimes they were shared with the gods by being placed on the hands or knees of statues.²² Since there is no reason to suppose that men's *splanchna* were roasted while the gods' were left raw, it seems most likely that the three portions of meat put on the table were also ready to be eaten.²³ In all these cases in which more important figures receive sacrifice while lesser figures have a *trapeza*, the table is a means of recognizing the latter in a way that is comparable to the use of lesser victims, as when Kourotophos in Attica receives a piglet (*choiros*) while other gods get larger victims (e.g., Thoricus, *SEG* XXXIII, 147, 20–2).

A god, then, could receive a table in addition to the performance of *thusia* in his honor. So at Marathon an anonymous hero and a heroine (the

²¹ D. Gill, *Greek Cult Tables* (incorporating his earlier “*Trapezomata*, a Neglected Aspect of Greek Sacrifice,” *HTHR* 67, 1974, 117–37), New York and London 1991, 10 is undecided between “some sort of special offering” and *trapezomata*, by which he means raw parts of the victim.

²² See Ziehen 1939, 616–19; J.-L. Durand, “Greek Animals: Toward a Typology of Edible Bodies,” in M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks*, Chicago 1989, 92–100. *Splanchna* placed on the hands or knees, presumably of statues, go to the priests: *LSS* 76–8; 129; *LSCG* 119–21, all from Chios.

²³ *LSAM* 24; H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, *Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenoi*, vol. 2, Bonn 1973, 205. Side A of the inscription has most recently been discussed by F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, Rome 1985, 250–5. Graf calls attention to the language of offering a meal and notes that all that is put on the table is edible, but does not address the question of whether the meat is cooked or raw. Though I have argued for the former, the case is not absolutely clear. Portions of meat, referred to as *sarkes* or *krea*, are found alongside of whole parts of the animal among the priest's perquisites (e.g., *LSS* 19, 33, Ferguson 1938), sometimes set on the table (*LSCG* 103 B 6, *SIG*³ 1047). Here, however, the only other meat was the *splanchna*, which were more likely cooked than raw.

reference to her is restored but virtually certain) each receive a piglet and jointly a table (*LSCG* 20 B3); Kourotrophos receives a piglet and (probably) a table costing one drachma (B13), unless the table is shared with Zeus Hypatus and Iolaus who also receive victims; another anonymous hero identified by his place of cult “alongside of the sanctuary of [Athena] Hellotis,” receives a sheep and a table which he may well share with the heroine who follows him in the list and also receives a sheep, in her case a ewe rather than a wether (B25). An earlier (fifth-century?) decree, cited in a third-century decree of some Attic *orgeones* (members of a cult association), prescribed a full-grown sheep for the anonymous hero and in addition a table to be put beside him (τράπεζαν παρατιθέναι); on the same day “the heroines” receive a piglet and on the following day this same hero gets another sheep but this time without a table (*LSCG* 20, 14–16). A late fourth- or early third-century calendar from Eleusis prescribes a goat for Apollo Pythius, various other items, and a table to be prepared for him (τράπεζαν κοσμήσαι | τῷ θεῷ, *LSCG* 7, 11–14; *IG* ii² 1363).

Aside from Erythrae, in all these cases there is no specification of what is to be put on the table nor of the rights of cult personnel over them, an important consideration when more than cakes or individual servings of meat were involved. Like the victims prescribed for each god, the decoration of the table cost money, and as with the tables for the lesser figures, we should suppose that foodstuffs and accoutrements were bought and that cooked portions of the animal that had been sacrificed were set on the table, as we have argued was the case at Erythrae. And as was specified there, food deposited on the table, as opposed to what was burnt on the altar, was available to the priests. A table in addition to sacrifice was in effect an elaboration and an embellishment upon the central and essential act of sacrifice. That it also secured cult personnel a share of the offerings surely did not hinder its popularity with those charged with conducting the cult, but that should not blind us to the consequences for ritual of preparing a table.

At times the preparation of couch and table was the climax and focus of a festival that included sacrifices and other rites. This seems to have been the case in the various Theoxenia of Apollo and of the Dioscuri and the Theodaisia of Dionysus.²⁴ At Delphi we hear of public feasting, an *agon* (Paus. 7.27.4) and the award of the largest portion (*moira*) from the table to the person who presented the largest leek to Leto (Chionides ap. Athen. 9.372a); presumably the goddess had her own table at this festival. The best

²⁴ See [note 5](#) above.

portion (*meris*) was awarded to the descendants of the poet Pindar (*Vit. Pind.* and *Plut. Mor.* 557), which suggests that servings of cooked meat were set on the gods' tables.²⁵

The great majority of references to *theoxenia* are so cursory that the few detailed examples we have deserve to be reported in full. A public festival, the cult of a private foundation and the rites of gentilicial groups will be considered.

Zeus Sosipolis and the Twelve Gods at Magnesia on the Maeander

One of the fullest accounts of a festival with a prominent place for the *theoxenia* is in the decree from Magnesia on the Maeander in Asia Minor for the festival of Zeus Sosipolis (*LSAM* 32, *SIG*³ 589), dating from 196 BC. The subject of the decree is summarized at the beginning: "the annual demonstration (ἀναδείκνυσθαι, i.e., dedication) of a bull each year to Zeus at the time of sowing, the prayer, the procession, the sacrifice, the pitching of a *tholos* (a temporary, presumably circular, structure) and the coverings of the couches (στρώννυσθαι στρωμνάς, 8–10)." Seven months after its dedication, the bull is again to be presented to Zeus Sosipolis, there is to be a large procession, and an official, the *stephanephoros* (crown-bearer), is to carry the images (*xoana*) of the Twelve Gods dressed in the most beautiful clothes possible, and he is to pitch the *tholos* in the agora near the altar of the Twelve Gods, and he is to spread and provide three of the most beautiful couches possible. Music is to be performed and a ram, a female goat, and a male goat are to be sacrificed to Zeus, Artemis Leucophryene, and Apollo Pythius, respectively, in addition to Zeus's bull.

Three rituals are combined here: (1) the bull for Zeus Sosipolis, which is nurtured from the time of sowing to that of harvest and thus expresses the successful growth of the crops, prayed for at the time of the initial dedication of the bull; (2) the collective powers represented by the images of the Twelve Gods carried through the city; (3) the further sacrifices to Zeus, Artemis, patron of the city, and Apollo who shares an altar with her (all three, to be sure, included among the Twelve Gods who, however, are treated in (2) as

²⁵ For the Delphic festival, see Bruit 1984. Apollo was thought of as inviting the heroes to the festival, *Schol. Pind. Nem.* 7.68, but the implications of the verb *epidemein* (attend) in *Schol. Pind. Ol.* 3 (105, 14–16 Drachmann) is that all the gods are visitors. On gods both as hosts and as guests, see Nock 1944, 152, but it is not always clear which role they are thought to take.

a collectivity). The meat of the bull is distributed to those who participated in the procession, the three further victims to a more restricted group of functionaries after the priests of the three gods have taken their customary honors. For all its detail, nothing is said of a meal for the Twelve Gods. There are no victims for them as a group and no sacrifice is required to be performed on their altar even though the *tholos* is set up beside it. Thus they are not conceived of as coming to enjoy their own *thusia*. Instead they seem to be guests at a feast, most likely that which follows the sacrifice of victims for three of their members, Zeus, Artemis, and Apollo. Possibly each couch corresponds to one of the three victims. We have already seen examples of tables prepared for one or more gods when an animal is sacrificed to another. It is worth noting that, while the distribution of the meat from the victims is carefully prescribed, no arrangements are made for a corresponding feast by the worshippers.²⁶

The private foundation of Diomedon on Cos

A long and detailed inscription of the late fourth century (or later) provides information on the ritual to be performed in honor of Heracles and Diomedon's own family.²⁷ "Sacrifice (*thuein*) on the 16th of the month Petageitnyos and offer hospitality (*xenismon poiein*) to Heracles, and (offer) the fish-fry (*apopuris*) on the 17th" (59–63). In addition to the gods represented by statues that were crowned (21, 124), and probably set up on or near the couch, the Moirae and Pasios (= Zeus Ctesius) received sacrifice (31–3, 149–55), and the images (*eikones*) of Diomedon's ancestors (20–1) and perhaps of Diomedon himself (cf. 36) participated in the sacrifice, though not necessarily in the *theoxenia*.

Weddings also took place at the time of the festival for Heracles (88–108) and it is not entirely clear how Diomedon wanted the celebrations to be conducted without interfering with each other. "The *stromnê* (couch with coverings) and the statues for Heracles are to be in the house until the

²⁶ S. Eitrem, "Zur Apotheose," *SymbOslo* 10, 1932, 36, suggested that the Twelve Gods received incense and perhaps some innards from the sacrifices (*endora*), comparing the sacrifice to Zeus Polieus on Cos, *LSCG* 151 A 48 (*SIG*³ 1025). But since nothing is specified, one must suppose that the Magnesians did whatever was customary when preparing couches for gods, i.e., they set a table (or tables) with a meal. On the Twelve Gods, cf. O. Weinreich, "Zwölfgötter," in Roscher, *Lex.* 6, 1924–37, 793.

²⁷ *LSCG* 177; R. Herzog, "Heilige Gesetze von Cos," *AbhBerl* 1928, 28–32, no.10; *SIG*³ 1106.

wedding is completed” (95–8). “He who has (the lease of) the men’s house (*andreia*) is to provide it for the sacrifice and for the hospitality to Heracles, for all the days (of these rites)” (108–11). For weddings there was also a separate women’s house (*gunaikeia*).

Diomedon lists his dedications for the cult: “two lamps and two bronze lamps with seven flames, a rectangular brazier (*eschara*), a mixing bowl, a rug, a table, five small gold crowns for the statues (probably of Hera, Hebe, Dionysus, and Aphrodite, besides Heracles), two clubs, three gilt incense-burners, a couch, the base for a couch, a bronze ring” (120–30). These items are suitable for the entertainment of a god, or of a group of gods if they share a couch, but are insufficient for the dining of worshippers. The sanctuary had buildings appropriate for feasting (*xenones*, “guest rooms,” 3, 71, 76, 82, and a *lesche*, “porch,” 84) besides the men’s and women’s houses; but without furniture it would seem that the worshippers improvised in the way that was usual at sacrifices while the gods, for whom appropriate victims had been specified (18–33), dined alone in the men’s house.

We are not told what was put on the table for the gods at the *xenismos* of Heracles. In the section dealing with the wedding Diomedon says: “Take from the victims whatever seems good for the table for the god; all the rest let the man who is celebrating the wedding use, as much as (is needed) for the hospitality offered to his own people” (98–101). Is this the table for the entertainment of Heracles or is it a permanent table in the sanctuary on which were placed raw parts of the victim? The fact that the items are not specified, as are the priest’s *gera* (a leg and the skin, 40) which he is *also* to hand over (καὶ ἐπιδότηω) to the celebrator of the wedding and for which he is to receive eight drachmae in compensation when there is a wedding (100–3), suggests that either they are not on a large scale or do not wind up in the priest’s possession. In either case, it is clear that meat was put on the table, while there is no mention of any other food.

The Tritopatores at Selinus

A passage in a new text, the provisions for sacrifice and purification from Selinus on a lead tablet of the mid-fifth century BC, provides unusual detail on a number of aspects of our subject.²⁸ The text prescribes sacrifices to

²⁸ The text with a detailed commentary in M. H. Jameson, D. R. Jordan, and R. D. Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinus*, GRBM 11, Durham, NC 1993. The text bristles with difficulties and there are likely to be other interpretations than the one given in the translation above. In the

And then let them sacrifice a full-grown (sheep) to the pure (Tritopatores). Pouring down a libation of honey mixture let him (set out) both a table and a couch and let him put on (them) a pure cloth and crowns of olive, and honey mixture in new cups, and cakes and meat, and having made offerings [*kaparxamenoī*, perhaps first fruits from the meal] let them burn (them) and let them perform the anointing having put the cups in (the fire). Let them perform the ancestral sacrifice [i.e., the sacrifice of the full-grown sheep] as to the gods. (A13–17)

Let him take out the public *hiara* and put out a table before (them), and burn a thigh and the offerings from the table and the bones. Let no meat be carried out (of the precinct). Let him invite whomever he wishes. It is possible also to sacrifice at home the following year. (A17–21. At this point the text of column A becomes lacunose.)

τοῖς κ (α)θαροῖς : τέλοντο θυόντο : μελίκρατα τυπο-
14 λείβον : καὶ τράπεζαν καὶ κλῖναν κένβαλέτο
καθαρόν ἡμα καὶ στεφά-
15 νος ἑλαίας καὶ μελίκρατα ἐν καιναῖς
ποτερῖδε[σ]ι καὶ : πλάσματα καὶ κῥά κάπ-
16 αργάμενοι κατακάαντο καὶ κατακλινάντο τὰς
ποτερῖδας ἐνθέντες.
17 θυόντο ὁσπερ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ πατρία : τοὶ ἐν
Εὐθυδάμο : Μιλίχιοι : κριὸν θ[υ-]
18 όντο. ἔστο δὲ καὶ θυμα πεδᾶ Φέτος θυέν. τὰ δε
ἡιαρὰ τὰ δαμόσια ἐξή<α>ίρέτο καὶ τρά[πεζα]-
19 ν : προθέμεν καὶ Φολέαν καὶ τᾶτό τὰς
τραπέζας : ἀπάργματα καὶ τὸστέα κα[τα-]
20 κᾶι. τὰ κῥά μεχφερέτο. καλέτο [h]όντινα λεῖ.
ἔστο δὲ καὶ πεδᾶ Φτ[ος Φ-]
21 οἶφι θυέν:

Theoxenia is required “this year” and allowed “next year.” In the first year it is for the pure Tritopatores, purified we believe by the rites prescribed for the polluted Tritopatores. For “next year” the object of the rites is not specified, but the public *hiara* which may be used are most reasonably understood as objects representing the Tritopatores.²⁹

Of the furnishings only the table is mentioned for the second year, but we suppose that the couch and the rest are to be understood in the second year as well. The food put on the table the first year, honey mixture, *plasmata* (probably cakes; possibly but less suitably, figurines) and meat, are no doubt what are referred to in the second year as “the offerings from the table” (A19). In addition a thigh, presumably with the flesh still on it, and the bones of the victim are to be burnt. We should note that the thigh does not seem to have been placed on the table, as were the parts of victims in many later inscriptions. The thigh of a full-grown sheep is no small offering and since the burning of extra parts of the animal (over and above the bones, fat, and some token snippets of flesh) is rare, we do not think it can be assumed for the first year’s *theoxenia*, unless its omission is a mere oversight.³⁰ Next year’s ritual, though not required, was, if performed, to be weightier, marked by the burning of one of the most important parts of the animal in addition to the animal’s bones. Perhaps it was felt that if the first year’s rites had not proved adequate and needed to be repeated in the following year, a more marked procedure should be followed.

The aim of the rites listed in column A of the Selinuntine inscription appears to have been to gain the good will of a series of figures associated both with the survival and success of families and with the dangers of pollution, arising particularly from bloodshed. The remarkable double version of Tritopatores, first polluted and then pure, suggests that the ancestral spirits had become contaminated by some pollution that had also affected the living members of the families concerned. Their purification is secured by means of heroic rites: the libation of wine, the burning of a significant fraction (1/9) of an animal’s flesh, aspersion, and anointment. *Theoxenia* is

²⁹ The *hiara* that are to be used in the second year and which we take to be images, may have been mentioned for this year’s rites earlier in the tablet. The possibility is discussed in the commentary to the text (Jameson *et al.* 1993).

³⁰ This tablet offers two of the clearest examples of the destruction of edible parts of the victim, short of the holocaust of the whole animal: the burning of a ninth part of a victim (A11–12), cf. the verb *enateuein* (remove the ninth part for sacrifice), *LSCG* 96, 23 (Myconos), *LSS* 63, 4, and *IG* xii Suppl., 353 (Thasos); the burning of the *kôlê* (thigh), with which cf. the sacrifice prescribed by an oracle at Miletus, *LSAM* 42 B 2f. It is understandable that the valuable meat of a whole thigh is commonly reserved for the priest, whether or not placed preliminarily on a table, e.g. *LSAM* 73, 10, *LSCG* 28, 9, etc.

used for the newly purified spirits together with sacrifice and the libation of a honey mixture, the whole to be performed “as to the gods.” These latter rites mark the restoration of the Tritopatores to normal conditions and normal relations with the living.

But just as *theoxenia* can be used, in effect, to bring the supernatural into familiar, customary contacts with men, the offering of hospitality can also be a means of reconciliation with a hostile or dangerous force, the process being described as purification. This is what we find in column B of the Selinuntine tablet where instructions are given for purification from an *elasteros* by an individual, most likely a homicide. An *elasteros* we take to be an avenging spirit (such as is known elsewhere as an *alastor*), though one that may require sacrifice, after purification, “as to immortals” (B12f.).

[If a . . .] man [wishes] to be purified from *elasteroi*, having made a proclamation from wherever he wishes and whenever in the year he wishes and in whatever [month] he wishes and on whatever day he wishes, having made the proclamation whithersoever (i.e., to whatever directions) he wishes, let him purify himself. [And on] receiving (him, i.e. the *elasteros*) let him give (water) to wash with and a meal and salt, to this same one, and having sacrificed a piglet to Zeus, let him go out from it and let him turn around and let him be addressed and let him take food for himself and sleep wherever he wishes.

Here the meal is offered without a preceding sacrifice. The term used is *akratizomai*, defined in the lexica as ‘to take breakfast’; Athenaeus (1.11c) gives the origin of the word as coming from dipping bread into unmixed wine. The sacrifice that follows is to Zeus (with no details given on the disposal of the meat). The possibility of an eventual sacrifice to the *elasteros* itself is raised in the last two sentences of the text. Meals are offered to placate and avert a dangerous power – the meals for Hecate have this effect³¹ – and to exorcise bewitchment.³² But the best parallel to the present passage is the meal offered to the *hikesioi*, figures closely comparable to the Selinuntine *elasteroi*, in the great *lex sacra* of Cyrene: “. . . having as a host received (the *hikesios*) put beside him a part of everything.”³³

³¹ Cf. note 12, above.

³² E.g., the offering of a meal in a magical context, K. Preisendanz and A. Henrichs, *PGM I*, Stuttgart 1973, 84–91.

³³ LSS 115, 28–59 (C. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, Chicago 1955, no. 115) B. 36f.: ὑποδεξάμενον παρτιθ[έ]ν/ μεν τὸ μέρος πάντων. The *hikesioi* are in my view correctly explained by H. Stukeley, “The Cyrenean *hikesioi*,” *CPh* 32, 1937, 32–43; cf. R. Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford 1983, 347–9, who follows Stukeley only partially.

Gods and men, dining together or apart?

In the three examples we have just examined it seems that the larger and more public the event the less indication there is of common feasting. At the city festival at Magnesia there is none whatsoever; on Cos it is implicit in the provision of rooms and in the character of the worshippers, apparently relatives and friends of the founder; at Selinous for the optional second-year sacrifice (possibly for both years) anyone may be invited but the meat must not be carried away – perhaps an opening up of the circle of participants compared to the first year but with ritual and consumption still to be completed on the spot. The occasion that prompts the rite and the nature of the group that performs it have more to do with how the meat is consumed than does *theoxenia* itself. Generally, the instructions in inscriptions cover the proper distribution of meat but say little about where and how it was to be consumed. Large-scale sacrifices were not well suited to group dining. The occasional specification that meat was not to be carried away (from the sanctuary) or that it was to be consumed on the spot, is, in fact, an indication that the opposite was usual.³⁴ Since joint feasting by men after sacrifice was far from universal, preparation of couches and tables for the gods cannot be taken to imply automatically the joint feasting of men and gods.

Dining en masse, however, is clearly indicated by the existence in sanctuaries of multiple dining rooms, though none, to my knowledge, show clear evidence of arrangements for supernatural guests.³⁵ Two Hellenistic structures, at Calydon and on Samothrace, for the entertainment of heroes, as has been plausibly argued, actually seem to isolate the guests.³⁶ To be

³⁴ See Ziehen 1939, 621–2. An example of the positive injunction to feast in the sanctuary, δαινύσθων αὐτοῦ, *LSCG* 96, 26, 27–9 (*SIG*³ 1024, Myconos, ca. 200 BC). M. S. Goldstein, *The Setting of the Ritual Meal in Greek Sanctuaries: 600–300 BC*, Diss. Berkeley 1978, has a useful appendix in which he has collected examples (322–56). Ziehen's view that sacrificed meat was originally *tabu* and therefore could not be removed but that this belief faded for practical reasons over time, is followed by Goldstein 1978, 51–4. S. Dow in "The Greater Demarchia of Erchia," *BCH* 89, 1965, 209, sees the requirement as directed solely at the cult personnel and as being an entirely secular matter, designed to increase the meat available and therefore the attendance at sacrifice. On the last point I would agree but I would see attendance as desirable for religious reasons.

³⁵ See Goldstein 1978, 113–321; B. Bergquist, "Symptotic Space: A Functional Aspect of Greek Dining-rooms," in Murray 1990, 37–65; N. Bookides, "Ritual Dining in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth: Some Questions," in Murray 1990, 86–94; F. Cooper and S. Morris, "Dining in Round Buildings," in Murray 1990, 66–85, discuss dining seated as opposed to reclining. See also C. Börker, *Festbankett und Griechische Architektur*, Konstanz 1983.

³⁶ Calydon: E. Dyggve, F. Poulsen, and K. A. Romaios, *Das Heroon von Kalydon*, Copenhagen 1934, 31, 70, 94, 96, fig. 104 (= Gill 1991, fig. 23); the dining room is clearly Room VI, which

sure, temporary structures were undoubtedly more common than permanent buildings for dining; when these can be detected in the archaeological record their remains are unlikely to tell us anything about corresponding arrangements made for the gods.³⁷

The regular dining together of particular groups within the community – cult or civic officials, cult groups, quasi-military messes – furnishes us with more information on the customary ritual. Thus in the Cretan men’s houses where youths and men took their meals together there was always a ξενία τράπεζα set up for Zeus Xenius, the patron of guests, just as strangers (*xenoi*) were always welcome (Pyrgion *FGrH* 467 F 1 ap. Athen. 4.143f). In Athens, while the actual business of the city was carried on by the 50 *prytaneis* of the Classical system in the Tholos in the Agora, the Prytaneion, which housed the public hearth, became the city’s symbolic center where those honored by the city were entitled to dine.³⁸ The Dioscuri were entertained with a meal there (how regularly we do not know), referred to as an *ariston*, sometimes translated “breakfast,” not a *deipnon*, “dinner.”³⁹ The simple

does not communicate directly with the cult room and its adjacent court or hall; Samothrace: H. Seyrig, *CRAI* 1966, 107f.

³⁷ Goldstein 1978, 8–100; U. Kron, “Kultmahle im Heraion von Samos archaischer Zeit. Versuch einer Rekonstruktion,” in R. Hägg *et al.*, eds., *Early Greek Cult Practice* (*ActaAth* 4^o–38), Stockholm 1988, 135–48.

³⁸ In the apparatus for *IG* i³ 131 (= i² 77), 4f., the Athenian decree of ca. 440–432 on the subject of those who were privileged to dine in the Prytaneion at public expense, I suggested that the first category among the honorands might have been the god Apollo, in which case a couch and a table would have been reserved for him. Another inscription of ca. 422–416, *IG* i³ 137 (= i² 128) states that “since (the god) declared through his oracle that he himself (would be) the interpreter” a seat (*thronos*) was to be brought out for the god, perhaps in the Prytaneion, since ἐν τῷ πρ[follows the command, and perhaps to be presented with a meal. But the restoration is not certain and we do not know that in Athens male deities were conceived of at this time as dining while seated.

³⁹ ἄριστον προτιθώνται, Chionides ap. Athen. 4.137e (*PCG*, IV, fr. 7). A scene on a black-figure Attic *pelike* in Naples (well illustrated in R. Metzger, *Recherches sur l’imagerie athénienne*, Paris 1965, Pl. 9, and A. Hermay, “Dioscuri,” *LIMC* III.2, 465, fig. 111) has been taken by E. Simon, “Review of R. Metzger, *Recherches sur l’imagerie athénienne* 1965,” *Gnomon* 42, 1970, 709 to represent the Dioscuri at their daily meal (not so described in the Chionides fragment) in the Prytaneion. Two young men are seated on a couch before which is set a table heaped high with various objects while a basket of bread is beneath it (something appears to be wedged under the table, between the surface of the table and a brace). Facing them a bearded man holds a branch of greenery and a goatskin bag in his left hand, a kylix in his right. A miniature shrine set on a post in the background seems to have two men and horses depicted on it, which led J. Beazley *ABV*, 338, 3, to see an allusion to the Dioscuri and this in turn has led to the deduction that the scene is meant to be a shrine of the two gods. Also against locating the scene in the Prytaneion is the fact that the two are seated rather than reclining as one would expect at a meal, that the bearded figure (who Simon suggests is the Archon *basileus*) seems to be engaged in more than welcoming them to a meal, and that the word ΜΥΣΤΑ is written conspicuously between him and the pair (remains of another word running vertically in front of the priest’s

fare set on the tables – cheese, barley cake, ripe olives and leeks (the same menu apparently for both gods and men) – looked back to the austere life of the past. Wheat bread, by a law of Solon's, was to be provided only for festivals, among which the entertainment of the Dioscuri evidently was not counted.⁴⁰ Here, at least before the late fifth century, it seems that the meals were not necessarily preceded by a sacrifice which would have provided meat.⁴¹ This may have been true for the daily Cretan meals as well and perhaps also for the Spartan messes (*pheiditia*) which were known for their simple food.⁴²

The recognition of the gods in such situations is close to that of the offering at meals, discussed above, an incidental acknowledgment of the supernatural, the securing of a blessing on the meals of men who would, in any case, be eating together, rather than an explicit honor paid to the gods. When Zeus Philius, "Zeus of friendship," is described as coming to all houses, rich and poor, if he spies a well-laid out couch and table, we may understand the god to be the patron of friendly gatherings who is recognized with prayers and libations and very likely with a serving of the meal.⁴³

The Dioscuri and Heracles, who share pan-Hellenic roles as figures balanced between the human and divine spheres, seem not only to have graced

body are illegible). The inscription (vocative dual, *μύσται*?) has reasonably been seen to refer to initiation for the Eleusinian Mysteries, which the Dioscuri were said to have received when they came to Athens: Plut. *Thes.* 33; Metzger 1965, 29–30; on Eleusinian initiation, see most recently R. Simms, "Myesis, Telete, and Mysteria," *GRBS* 31, 1990, 183–95. The miniature shrine would then be a reference to the sanctuary to be founded in their honor, the Anakeion, perhaps conceived of as on the spot where the initiation took place. H. A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens*, Mainz 1989, follows Simon in describing the scene as representing *theoxenia* (151) though offering as a possible alternative explanation that it shows a scene of *parasitein* in the Anakeion (discussed below). But earlier (83) he seemed to agree with Metzger that the scene represented Eleusinian initiation in which, however, we have no reason to think *theoxenia* had a place. *Theoxenia* was prominent in the mysteries of Zeus at Panamara (see note 14 above), but it would be rash to make inferences for Eleusis from this cult in Hellenistic Caria.

⁴⁰ Simplicity was characteristic of their entertainment: no carcasses of oxen, no gold, no purple carpets awaited them, according to a fragment of Bacchylides (fr. 21 Snell-Mahler, ap. Athen. 11.500a) but kindly spirits, a sweet Muse, and pleasing wine in Boeotian cups.

⁴¹ Ar. *Eq.* 283f. mentions bread, fish, and meat served at the Prytaneion. Cf. S. G. Miller, *The Prytaneion: Its Function and Architectural Form*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1978, 12.

⁴² Although a piece of boiled pork was served daily (Dicaearchus ap. Athen. 4.141b) there is no indication that a pig was sacrificed each time for the purpose. Cf. the twelve portions of boiled meat at Ar. *Ran.* 553. Salt pork was common in Roman times, cf. R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III², Leiden 1965, 196, and the preservation of meat was known to, if not widely practiced by, the Greeks, perhaps because of the relatively small part meat played in their diet.

⁴³ Diodorus Sinop. ap. Athen. 6.239e (PCG, V, fr. 2). For the connection between *philia* and *xenia*, see E. Benveniste, *Indo-European Language and Society*, Miami 1973 (= *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, Paris 1969), 278–84.

human meals but to have been sought after as guests. For the former, besides the public Theoxenia festivals held in their honor, private worship is attested by stone and terracotta reliefs (the latter known particularly from the Laco-nian colony of Taras) and by the stories of their visits *incogniti* to private homes. Respect to strangers was reinforced by the notion that any stranger might prove to be a god in disguise.⁴⁴ For Heracles there is the rich mythol-ogy of his visits and banqueting and an artistic tradition that shows him at the feast, either alone, with members of his family, or with Dionysus.⁴⁵ Here we can only touch on a few aspects of a large and complex subject.

Parasitoi

The word *parasitoi*, “parasites = those who take their food (*sitos*) beside . . .” is found in a number of contexts.⁴⁶ For our interests, the relevant use of the word is of those who dine beside (παρά) a god or hero. In Attica *parasitoi* were chosen for Heracles, Cleidemus, *FGrH* 323 F 11 (ap. Athen. 6.235a), a fact on which the poet Diodorus of Sinope (ap. Athen. 6.239d–f) elaborated, no doubt with comic exaggeration: the polis made sacrifices in honor of Heracles in all the demes and selected *parasitoi* for the god to attend these sacrifices. Since Diodorus also spoke of the city choosing carefully for this function twelve men born of two Athenian parents, men of property and exemplary lives, these could hardly have been for every deme. We can not expect a comic poet to be historically precise. He is providing an honorable

⁴⁴ Cf. M. P. Nilsson, *GGR* I, 408–11 and Pl. 29; B. Hemberg, “Ἀναξ, ὄνασσα und ἄνακες,” *UppsÅrsskr* 1955, 10; B. Neutsch, “Der Heros auf der Kline,” *RömMitt* 69, 1961, 150–63; A. Hermay, *LIMC* III 1986, 1:576f. and 2:465. Visits to private homes: Hdt. 6.127; Paus. 3.16.3. A couch spread for them before fighting, Diod. Sic. 8.32; hospitality to them after victory, Polyæn. 6.1.3.

⁴⁵ For the iconography of Heracles the research of A. Verbanck-Piérard is indispensable to understanding the cultic aspects, which, however, as she makes clear, do not exhaust the meanings of the banqueting Heracles: “Le double culte d’Héraclès: légende ou réalité?,” in Laurens 1989, 43–65; “Images et croyances en Grèce ancienne: représentations de l’apothéose d’Héraclès au VI^{ème} siècle,” in C. Bérard, C. Bron, and A. Pomari, eds., *Images et société en Grèce ancienne: l’iconographie comme méthode d’analyse*, Lausanne 1987, 187–9; and esp. “Heracles at Feast in Attic Art: A Mythical or Cultic Iconography?,” in R. Hägg, ed., *The Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, *Kernos* Suppl. 1, Athens and Liège 1992, 85–106. In view of this last paper I have eliminated my own much less informed comments on the subject.

⁴⁶ Parasitoi and similar terms are discussed in connection with the Tirynthian *platiwoinoi* and *platiwoinarchoi* in N. Verdelis, M. Jameson, and I. Papachristodoulou, “Ἀρχαϊκαὶ ἐπιγραφὰὶ ἐκ Τίρυνθος,” *ArchEph* 65, 1975, 195–9. Athenaeus 6.234c–235e and 239b–f is the chief source for cultic *parasitoi*.

and to some degree ridiculous pedigree for the “free-loading” parasite (to use the colloquial American term) of Classical times.⁴⁷

The selection of *parasitoi* for Heracles is mentioned by both Cleidemus (*FGrH* 323 F 11) and Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 73), the latter probably with reference to the Heracleion at Marathon (the verb he uses for the process is *katalego* – was it more a duty than an honor?). In the one case for which we have more information, the *parasitoi* of the *nothoi* (bastards, i.e. men with only one Athenian parent), in the Heracleion at Cynosarges near the town of Athens, sacrificed monthly, together with the priest, and presumably dined together afterwards. The duty was sufficiently burdensome that the state threatened prosecution for failure to serve (according to a decree proposed by Alcibiades inscribed on a *stele* in the sanctuary and quoted from the antiquarian Polemon by Athenaeus 6.234d–e). If the *parasitoi* were not required to contribute to the purchase of the victims they are likely to have paid for the rest of the banquet, including the accoutrements for the gods’ couch and table.⁴⁸

The Dioscuri, Apollo, and Athena also had human *parasitoi* in Attica. According to an inscription set up in the Anakeion in Athens, *parasitoi* of the Dioscuri were to receive a third of the meat from two select oxen. Another third went to the priest and another “for the contest.” This must be an annual, or even less frequent, festival with games and a sizeable number of *parasitoi*, to judge from the amount of meat they received. Nothing is said of a meal for the Dioscuri but in view of the common practice of entertaining them we should probably assume a meal was offered.

As for Apollo, a law concerning the Archon *basileus* (quoted by Athenaeus 6.235c) spoke of *parasitoi* from the deme Acharnae who were to provide a sixth measure (*hekteus*) of barley to Apollo (Athen. 6.235c). They may have been associated with other *parasitoi* who were “to dine in the sanctuary according to ancestral custom” (δαίνυσθαι . . . ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια).⁴⁹

⁴⁷ The number twelve suggests a pre-Cleisthenic origin. The two Athenian parents seem to point to a date after the Periclean citizenship law of the mid-fifth century, but I am inclined to think that was a requirement already established in cult, to which the *nothoi* of Heracles at Cynosarges were an explicit exception.

⁴⁸ On the *nothoi* in this cult, see C. Patterson, “Those Athenian Bastards,” *ClAnt* 9, 1990, 63–5.

⁴⁹ While this might be taken to suggest that the other *parasitoi* mentioned in that law were also Apollo’s, R. Schlaifer, “The Cult of Athena Pallenis,” *HSCP* 54, 1943, 35–67, has argued that the *parasitoi* from that deme alone were to make their offering to Apollo, while the rest were to offer their grain to Athena Pallenis. That a distinction is being drawn between the Acharnian *parasitoi* and others is plausible. However, once it is granted that the law prescribed offerings for more than one divinity and that *parasitoi* from a particular community are distinguished, it has to be allowed that the law could have covered the *parasitoi* of various cults, not only those of Athena Pallenis, and that it may have defined the *basileus*’ responsibilities for all of them. See, however, note 51 below.

Other *parasitōi* of Apollo in Athens were two members of the *genos* of the Kerykes who served as *parasitōi* in a sanctuary of Apollo, apparently the Delion at Marathon (Athen. 6.234f, citing the *kyrbeis*). Occasional, perhaps monthly, sacrifices and meals are likely to have been involved.⁵⁰

The *parasitōi* of Athena at Pallene (a deme across Mt. Hymettus from the city) are the best attested, and it is to them that has been assigned much of the evidence gathered together by Athenaeus (6.234f–235d).⁵¹ In the fourth century the cult had four *archontes* and 28 *parasitōi*. Besides a priestess, those in charge of the cult were the Archon *basileus* of the city, the *parasitōi* who had been “chosen in addition from the demes, the elders and the women still married to their first husbands” (quoted from the otherwise unknown Themison, ap. Athen. 6.235a). They too, like the *parasitōi* from Acharnae, may also have made contributions of barley. But the quotations from the “law of the *basileus*” cited by Athenaeus have become too garbled to yield convincing sense.⁵²

If any general conclusion about the Attic *parasitōi* is to be proposed it would be that they were one of the means whereby a larger community selected representatives to join the gods in meals. But for all the curious details preserved about the Attic *parasitōi*, the truth is that we know nothing certain about the meals for either the gods or men, not even whether they occurred in the same place. The patronage of Athena, Apollo, and Heracles shows that, like the practice of *theoxenia* as a whole, *parasitōi* were not associated with a single deity or a single type of deity.

The evidence from archaeology and art

Ideally a study of *theoxenia* should integrate the textual information with the material remains and the representations in art. Such an enterprise

⁵⁰ Hyperides fr. 68.

⁵¹ So Schlaifer 1943 (note 49 above, where some of the difficulties in his view were pointed out). D. M. Lewis, “Cleisthenes and Attica,” *Historia* 12, 1963, 33–4, and 39, is sceptical. However, neither Schlaifer nor Lewis (except in an addendum) used the fourth-century inscription published by W. Peek, “Attische Inschriften,” (*AthMitt* 67, 1942, 24–9) which has one of the cult’s four *archontes* from Acharnae and makes it quite possible that there were also *parasitōi* of Athena Pallenis from that deme, in accordance with Schlaifer’s argument. Peek thinks that would have been a late development, when people no longer lived in the same demes as their Cleisthenic ancestors. But an old cult connection is at least as likely.

⁵² προσαιρῶνται is Wilamowitz’s inescapable emendation for προαιρῶνται. See Schlaifer 1943, 49. The *parasitōi* “from the demes” were probably “chosen in addition” to the *archontes* who are not mentioned in the quotation from Themison. In that case they may have had the function of assessors, like the *parasitōi* at Methone, two for each of the *archontes* and the *polemarchoi* (Arist. fr. 551 Rose, ap. Athen. 6.235e). If so, *para* in some at least of the Attic examples may refer to human rather than divine company.

would expand impractically the bounds of an already lengthy article. In any case, recent sophisticated studies of banqueting scenes in art go a long way towards filling the need.⁵³ What follows is limited to some questions about furniture and other accoutrements and about food. The inscribed temple inventories have, of course, survived far better than any actual remains. We have already examined the inventory of a private cult in which the entertainment of Heracles was prominent, the foundation of Diomedon on Cos, *LSCG* 177 (*SIG*³ 1106). Multiple items indicate use by worshippers or a group of cult officials for meals taken in the sanctuary.⁵⁴ Smaller sets may point to use for *theoxenia*. At the sanctuary of Aphaea on the island of Aegina an inventory lists a small *thronos* and a small *kline* (*IG* iv 39, 7f, ca. 430 BC). The size would be appropriate for use with small images. The example most suggestive of use in *theoxenia* is an inventory from the Athenian Agora that lists as belonging to “the hero”: a double-headed couch, mattress, bedspread, smooth rug, four multi-colored pillows, a red cloth and a linen cloth, after which come a number of silver vessels.⁵⁵

The presence of a chair (*thronos*) in the inventory from Aegina and the requirement that one be set out in Athens for Apollo (*IG* i³ 137),⁵⁶ is a reminder that gods were more often represented seated than reclining. The presence in some sanctuaries of both tables and chairs of stone suggests that the solitary deity was thought to receive worshippers while seated on a throne, with the table nearby being used for the deposition of food or of

⁵³ See R. Thönges-Stringaris, “Das griechische Totenmahl,” *AthMitt* 80, 1965, 1–99; B. Fehr, *Orientalische und griechische Gelage*, Abhandlungen zur Kunst-, Musik- und Literaturwissenschaft 94, Bonn 1971; A. Effenberger, “Das Symposion der Seeligen, zur Entstehung und Deutung der Totenmahlsreliefs,” *FuB* 14, 1972, 128–63; J.-M. Dentzer, *Le Motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VIIe au IVe siècle avant J.-C.*, *BÉFAR* 246, 1982; K. Schauenburg, “Theoxenien auf einer schwarz-figuren Olpe,” *Mélanges Mansel, Mansel È Armagan*, Ankara 1974, 101–17 and Pl. 57; see esp. Verbanck-Piérard 1992. Examples of banqueting reliefs can be seen in M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, New York 1940 (= *Greek Folk Religion*, Philadelphia 1971), fig. 32, Dioscuri and fig. 16, the Eleusinian gods; also in Nilsson 1955, fig. 39, 3.

⁵⁴ E.g. the couches and tables in an inventory at Brauron, *SEG* XXXVIII, 35; seven couches of Chian and ten of Milesian workmanship can be traced through the inventories of the Parthenon from 434/3 through 412/11 BC, *IG* i³ 343, 12f., etc.

⁵⁵ *SEG* XXIX, 146, after 328/7 BC; See S. Rotroff, “An Anonymous Hero in the Athenian Agora,” *Hesperia* 47, 1978, 196–209, whose translation of the items I have followed. She compares the equipment with that seen on reliefs of banqueting heroes. D. M. Lewis, “An Inventory in the Agora,” *ZPE* 36, 1979, 131–4, connects the inscription with a fragment previously published that lists a series of *mazonomeia*, “barley-cake servers” dedicated by the *prytaneis* of individual tribes. He suggests that the hero was Strategos and that his property was kept in the Strategion.

⁵⁶ See note 38 above.



Fig. 8.1 Table and throne inside the temple of Apollo Zoster, Vouliagmeni, Attica; late fourth century BC. Photograph by the author.

parts of the victim when an animal was sacrificed (Fig. 8.1).⁵⁷ The frequent references in inscriptions to tables (without mention of couches), which we have argued were to carry food for major or minor figures of a festival, may mean that the cult might use only the throne or the cult statue to symbolize the god's presence.

The practice of men reclining at meals was brought to Greece from the Near East and became the preferred, elegant style of eating. Dining rooms in both public and private buildings were built to accommodate a series of abutting couches with a rectangular space in the middle for tables, servants, and entertainers.⁵⁸ It has been noted, however, that in certain buildings, particularly round buildings such as *tholoi*, couches were not practical.⁵⁹ Women and children always sat rather than reclined. On reliefs and vases depicting a reclining banqueter, women (other than *hetairai*) are seated on the end of a couch or in a chair. But male gods and heroes, like men, were conceived of ideally as reclining at meals, and this obtained for groups of gods and goddesses. In Hellenistic Magnesia we have seen the Twelve Gods, among whom were goddesses, notably Artemis the patron of the city, provided with three couches set up in a presumably circular *tholos*: *LSAM* 32 (*Syll.*³ 3 589). I know of no examples of Classical or later date that shows gods seated while feasting, although we have seen some reason for thinking that thrones, or even cult statues alone, may have served to symbolize the

⁵⁷ On thrones, see also note 74 below; on tables of stone that have survived, see Gill 1991; on the presence of tables for the critical cutting up and apportioning of the animal, Durand 1989.

⁵⁸ See note 35 above. ⁵⁹ Cooper and Morris 1990, note 35 above.



Fig. 8.2 Attic relief of the fourth century BC dedicated to Zeus Epiteleius Philius, his mother Philia, and his wife Agathe Tyche (IG ii² 4627). The standard scheme of a god with a female companion has not been altered in the relief to accord with the distinctive trio worshipped by the trio of dedicators, two women and a man, who, however, are represented.

god's presence when only a table is mentioned. The preparation of couches came to be the preferred metaphor of a banquet for the gods.⁶⁰

Reliefs and vase-paintings show not only the pose of divine banqueters but also the food set before them on tables. The relevance to *theoxenia* of the many reliefs showing a banqueting god or hero and of vase-paintings with the same theme has been demonstrated in recent years (Figs. 8.2

⁶⁰ See Nock 1944; Schmitt-Pantel 1985, 1990; Bruit 1989, 1990; and note 53 above. Simon 1983, 68, note 64, points out that since *klinai* were not used in Bronze Age meals, the Linear B “re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo” (*lechestroterio*) may have been for a sacred marriage. Effenberger 1972, 132, regards *theoxenia* as a relatively late development in Greek ritual, but if couches were in use by the eighth century (O. Murray, *Symptica*, Oxford 1990, 6), both the secular and sacred customs could have been well established by the Classical period. If S. Dow and R. Healey, “A Sacred Calendar of Eleusis,” *HTS* 211, 1965, 28 (= *LSCG* 71) were correct in seeing a *trapeza* as a general feature of the worship of Apollo Pythius and its use in other cults as “often prescribed κατὰ τὴν μαντεῖαν τοῦ θεοῦ” one might suppose that the practice was promoted by Delphi. But although there are, indeed, a number of examples of its use in the cult of Apollo and the Delphic *Theoxenia* was a major festival, only its use in the cult of Plouton at Eleusis was, as far as we know, prescribed explicitly by the oracle (cf. note 75 below).



Fig. 8.3 Heracles, Athena, and Iolaus on a black-figure hydria of the Archippe group; ca. 500 BC, Cahn Collection, Basel.

and 8.3).⁶¹ The majority of reliefs are of males on a couch, often accompanied by a seated female. The males are usually anonymous or occasionally designated by the name of a hero or a minor form of Zeus (e.g., Zeus Philius in a well-known relief in Copenhagen; see Fig. 8.2). The Dioscuri and Heracles are recognizable by their distinctive attributes. On vases Heracles, alone, with members of his family, or with Dionysus, is the most common subject (Fig. 8.3).⁶² It has been pointed out that while a depiction of an ideal or actual *theoxenia* is one message that such scenes offer, that does not exhaust the meanings inherent in these scenes. A literal interpretation would have to account for the occasional presence of a horse or a snake and of armor

⁶¹ See note 53 above. But note Dentzer's hesitations. He admits ritual only when the preparations for sacrifice are shown, 1982, 525–7. But that is to recognize only one type of ritual, and one phase of it at that. F. T. Van Straten, *Hiera Kala: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 127, Leiden, New York and Cologne 1995, 92–100 (who, however, speaks only of hero cults) has no such hesitations.

⁶² See Verbanck-Piérard 1992.

symbolizing the presence of a hero, which are out of place in a scene of banqueting.

The actual foodstuffs represented in these scenes deserve more attention than they have had so far. What has been observed on the tables would be appropriate to *theoxenia*. The most distinctive objects are cakes and fruit. Reliefs, as far as I know, do not show meat unmistakably; vase-paintings probably do show meat, in the form of long strips which have perhaps been unwound from spits on which they were roasted.⁶³ We have seen that the preparation of a couch and table often follows a sacrifice. The tablet from Selinus specifies that meat be put on the table and then burnt along with other offerings. The meat most quickly available would have been the innards (*splanchna*) grilled on spits over the altar fire, shared by the sacrificers as part of the central act of sacrifice, and sometimes shared with the gods by deposition on tables or statues, even without the elaboration of *theoxenia*.⁶⁴ Some of the rest of the meat may also have been grilled to provide the divine guests with a fitting meal.⁶⁵

The apparent absence of meat from the reliefs remains to be explained. Perhaps the scenes were meant to symbolize a common, congenial situation in which the gods and heroes received the simple food of their worshippers rather than the more elaborate banquets that followed sacrifices. The simplicity of the hospitality offered the Dioscuri has been noted earlier. Or perhaps the notion that the gods enjoyed only the savor of meat prevailed. But it must be admitted that the reliefs are usually rather simple works of art and that portions of meat do not have the distinctive shapes of cakes and fruits, so that there may be no particular significance in our failure to identify servings of meat. In any case, as far as I can tell, none of the representations among either the reliefs or the vases, show whole parts of animals (as opposed to portions) such as are described as being deposited on tables in *leges sacrae* and then explicitly or tacitly going to the cult personnel.⁶⁶

The function of theoxenia

The general view is that the rite was primarily for heroes and for gods that were not far from heroes, lesser figures, less awesome and more familiar

⁶³ Dentzer 1982, 522, is cautious about the identification of meat in scenes of banqueting on vases; so too, Schmitt-Pantel 1990, 18.

⁶⁴ See [note 22](#) above. ⁶⁵ See [note 23](#) above. ⁶⁶ See [note 83](#) below.

than the Olympians.⁶⁷ This view has often been linked to the assumption that *theoxenia* derived from meals for the dead, i.e., the individual dead buried and at intervals commemorated by a particular family.⁶⁸ This second assumption is more questionable than the first. The numerous reliefs of banqueting male figures, often with a female companion seated on the same couch, have been shown to represent not the ordinary dead as was once thought (whence the once common designation “Totenmahlrelief”) but heroes, for the most part anonymous, together with a few named gods such as Zeus Philius (Fig. 8.2) and Heracles. Dentzer has shown that in the Archaic and Classical periods, at least in Old Greece, the votive reliefs far outnumber the funerary. This seems not to be the case in the Hellenistic period or in Anatolia. It is clear, however, that funerary meals and honors to the ordinary dead were not the origin of the motif.⁶⁹ These scenes are to be taken at least partly as allusions to *theoxenia* and confirm its popularity for heroes. The rite and its representation are also well attested for the Dioscuri and for Heracles, as we have seen.⁷⁰ The new Selinuntine text adds the Tritopatores in this category. Leaving aside the question of origins, one might say that the scenario of offering an edible, human meal was most plausibly acted out with these less than Olympian figures as the guests.

But *theoxenia* could also be attached to, or could form the centerpiece, of a festival with animal sacrifice. A wide range of deities is represented: Apollo, Dionysus, Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira,⁷¹ Athena,⁷² the Twelve

⁶⁷ E.g., Deneken 1881, 4; “... chthonic and hero cults,” Simon 1983, 65.

⁶⁸ Cf. Eitrem 1932, 34; K. Meuli, “Griechische Opferbräuche,” in *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühlhll*, Basel 1946, 196–201; Effenberger 1972, 130. If this was the historical origin, it can no longer be traced. It is not evident whether the various rites performed at intervals after the burial were regarded as meals for the dead. Cf. Meuli 1946, 199; R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, Ithaca, NY 1985, 38–41, 146. Burnt remains of food, including animal bones, are found in and near graves but do not permit the distinctions we have been trying to draw. Cf. D. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, London 1971, 64–7, 205, 215f.

⁶⁹ Dentzer 1982, 529. The convention of describing the ordinary dead as heroes in epitaphs was limited to certain regions and only became common in the later Hellenistic period. Cf. R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 28, Urbana, IL 1942, 97f.

⁷⁰ But it was not directed primarily to them, *pace* Shapiro 1989, 151.

⁷¹ Two Athenian inscriptions of 277/6 and 272/1 BC praise commissioners (*epimeletai*) for their care of the festival and the sacrifice, and also of the *strosis* of the *kline* and the *cosmesis* of the *trapeza* for Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira: IG ii² 676, 14–16, and SEG XVI, 63; see B. D. Meritt, “Greek Inscriptions,” *Hesperia* 26, 1957, 54.

⁷² Two female attendants of Athena in Athens were called Cosmo and Trapezo or Trapezophoros, titles explained as referring to their duties in preparing a seat and a table for the goddess. Lycurg. fr. 48 and *Anecd. Bekk.* I, 307, 1, give the second title as Trapezophoros, Hsch. as τραπέζων [*sic*], s.v.

Gods, Asclepius,⁷³ the Great Mother and Attis,⁷⁴ Plouton,⁷⁵ the oriental god Men (e.g., *LSCG* 55) as well as figures, regarded as more typical of *theoxenia*, such as the Dioscuri or Heracles.⁷⁶ It is difficult in view of this variety of recipients to regard the rite as limited to, or even primarily directed towards, any one category or combination of categories of the supernatural that have been proposed – chthonic figures, minor figures, gods of banqueting,⁷⁷ or, as has recently been suggested, figures of epiphany,⁷⁸ or not at least in the fully developed forms of the rite we see in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

It may be more useful to consider how *theoxenia* was used. In practical terms, the offering of a simple meal was much more easily available to the

⁷³ In the Athenian cult of Asclepius the preparation of couch and table are mentioned several times in addition to a procession, sacrifices and an all-night ritual (*pannychis*) in a number of honorific inscriptions dating from the second half of the second century to the early first century BC. The fact that the couch and table are referred to after sacrifices and immediately before the *pannychis* points to meat from the sacrifice being placed on the table. These and other texts from the Asklepion were revised by R. O. Hubbe, “Decrees from the Precinct of Asklepios at Athens,” *Hesperia* 28, 1959, 169–201. The relevant inscriptions are: *IG* ii² 775, 18–21 (Hubbe no. 3, 244/3 BC); *IG* ii² 996, 9 (Hubbe no. 6, 173/2 BC); *IG* ii² 974, 16 (Hubbe no. 10; *SEG* XVIII, 26, 137/6 BC); *IG* ii² 975+1061, 10f. (Hubbe no. 11; *SEG* XVIII, 27, second century BC); *IG* ii² 976, 5–7 (Hubbe no. 12; *SEG* XVIII, 28, second half of second century BC); *IG* ii² 1033, 11f. (Hubbe no. 13; *SEG* XVIII, 29, 94/3 BC).

⁷⁴ A priestess of the Great Mother is honored by Attic *orgeones* in the late third century BC because “she covered the couch for both the festivals of Attis and made the other preparations excellently and piously, omitting nothing in the way of munificence” (*IG* ii² 1315, 9f.). Early in the next century there are decrees referring to the covering of two seats: ([σ]τ[ρω]ν[υ]νύειν/θρόνους [δύο] ὡς καλλίστους, *IG* ii² 1328, 9f. (= *LSCG* 48, 5f.), and to “sacred coverings”: ταῖς στρώσε στρώσεισιν ταῖς ἱερῇαις, *IG* ii² 1329, 15f. P. Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, Paris 1873, 92f. (followed by L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, 222) took the couch to be for the dead Attis and the *thronoi* for a procession in which images of Attis and the Great Mother were carried. The language itself, however, is consistent with *theoxenia*. Foucart’s interpretation would be untenable if the restoration by Meritt of a fragment probably dealing with the same cult from the late third century (*Hesperia* 26, 1957, 209f., no. 57, *SEG* XVII, 36) were certain: . . . τῆς στ[ρω]σεως τῆς κλίνης τῶν θεῶν, a single couch for the two gods. But τῶν θρόνων τῶν θεῶν is equally possible. The use of a *thronos* is appropriate for a goddess and particularly for Cybele who is often depicted seated on a throne. What is remarkable is the use of two *thronoi*.

⁷⁵ At Eleusis in the late fourth century ten men were on at least two occasions selected by the Hierophant to cover a couch and prepare a table for Plouton in accordance with an oracle of Apollo (*IG* ii² 1933, 1–3; 1934, 1–5).

⁷⁶ The Attic Mesogeioi conducted a festival for Heracles that involved a sacrifice, a procession, the purchase of cattle (*boðnia*), division of meat (*kreanomía*), and adornment of the table, *IG* ii² 1245 and 1247 (both ca. 251/ 50 BC). The separate mention of the table as an item in the festival comparable to the others points to a form of *theoxenia* (perhaps without couch or chair) rather than to the placing of parts of the sacrificial victims on a table.

⁷⁷ Dentzer 1982, 513.

⁷⁸ Such as Apollo and Dionysus, Bruit 1989, 24, n. 54; Heracles and the Dioscuri are also figures forever arriving and departing.

pious of moderate means than was animal sacrifice. At the same time it was more substantial and more dramatically effective than the donation of individual cakes, grains, and fruits. Combined with animal sacrifice offered to the same god, it permitted the elaboration of a relatively simple ritual act. Accompanying sacrifice to a different god, *theoxenia* expanded the range of figures honored without adding significantly to the cost. In this light it is not surprising that lesser figures are frequently seen as recipients.

Did the entertainment of gods and heroes bring gods and men closer together through sharing the same meal, even as men entered into a bond through eating together?⁷⁹ The question, as it affected sacrifice in general, was considered in a classic article by A. D. Nock, who concluded that in historical Greece there was no sense of communion or commensality with the gods or heroes (and no corresponding abhorrence of the offerings made to heroes).⁸⁰ None of our admittedly rather laconic sources suggest that *theoxenia* was any different. L. Bruit has argued that, in fact, the normal absence of the gods from the company of men is emphasized by their visiting and then departing. She has, however, also suggested that the practice sanctioned human commensality.⁸¹ For this the ritual enactment of the conventions of the feast may have been sufficient without need for the divine feasting to be accompanied in time and place by human feasting, though that seems to have occurred in the practice of small groups, e.g., the table laid for Zeus Philius in the Cretan messes and for the Dioscuri in the Athenian Prytaneion. While a certain closeness to the supernatural could be achieved if desired by treating the guest much like a household god, on the whole the Greeks maintained their distance from the supernatural. *Theoxenia*, like other Greek ritual actions, was a symbolic gesture, not necessarily invested with emotional force.

Comparison of *theoxenia* with two other contemporary practices may aid our understanding. We have referred to the occasional requirement in *leges sacrae* that the meat from the sacrifice not be carried away or, positively, that it be consumed in the sanctuary.⁸² The historical development is probably beyond recovery, though clearly in the small communities of early historical Greece, immediate consumption on the spot of relatively small and infrequent sacrifices would have been easy and natural. In later times, however, with larger populations and more complex communities, this became less practical and there could be social and financial advantages to carrying

⁷⁹ Salviat 1958, 256 believes that mortals shared in the divine aura, despite the arguments of Nock 1944.

⁸⁰ See Nock 1944, 141–73. ⁸¹ Bruit 1989, 21, cf. Bruit 1990, 170–3. ⁸² See note 34 above.

away and passing on one's share of meat. Neither early nor late is there any indication that unusual qualities were thought to be inherent in the meat from sacrifice, which, aside from hunting, was virtually the only source of meat for the Greeks. The occasional requirement that all meat be consumed in the sanctuary stemmed, I would suggest, from a desire to have the participants more vividly involved in the celebration. The feasting and the libations, prayers, and songs that accompanied the feasting, continued and extended the honoring of the gods that had begun with the sacrifice. In effect, the epic scenario of sacrifice and what followed upon it (e.g., *Il.* 1.458–74) was being performed as a unity. The same intent is seen in the proliferation of facilities in which the worshippers could dine in the sanctuary. There were, to be sure, social benefits as well, perhaps increasingly appreciated as traditional social organizations changed and their ties were loosened. *Theoxenia* subsequent to sacrifice can be seen as the corresponding arrangements for securing the presence of the gods. Both devices, *theoxenia* and “no carrying away,” contribute to the dramatic character of a series of ritual actions that we can only analyze on paper or see represented for a static moment in art.

The other practice to be compared is that of depositing upon a table within the sanctuary various raw parts of the sacrificial victim – a leg, a thigh, ribs, jaws, tongue, and sometimes portions of the divided meat – which are subsequently taken by the priest.⁸³ Deposition on the table employs the scheme of *theoxenia* – only edible parts of the animal are placed on it and not, therefore, the skin.⁸⁴ Like vegetarian offerings, they may be taken by the priest, but unlike the full performance of *theoxenia* they are not cooked and so ready to be eaten. This is evident from the fact that whole legs and other large parts of the animal are included, which the priest presumably will divide as he sees fit later.⁸⁵ The parts put on the table are the same as

⁸³ On this subject, see F. Puttkammer, *Quo modo Graeci victimarum carnes distribuerint*, Diss. Königsberg 1912, 19–31; Gill 1991; Graf 1985. *Trapezomata* is sometimes used by scholars to refer to these raw parts. Gill, who uses the word in a broad sense, notes (1974, 123 = 1991, 11) that the word occurs only once and then of the uncooked parts (including in this instance the right leg) put on the table in the course of normal animal sacrifice: *LSAM* 13, 15 (*SIG* 1007), Pergamon, 133 BC. The verbs *τραπέζωω* and *ἐπιτραπέζωω* also occur, e.g., *LSCG* 65, 86 (*SIG*³ 736). The Greek words refer to whatever is put on the table in the course of ritual but in the inscriptions they are used to indicate the parts that go to the priests. The earliest example of uncooked meat placed on the god's table seems to be *LSCG* 28 (*IG* ii² 1356), Athens, early fourth century, judging by the fact that it is engraved *stoichedon*.

⁸⁴ Cf. Graf 1985, 251 and n. 256.

⁸⁵ At Erythrae, as I have argued (above note 23), both the *splanchna* and the three portions of meat were probably cooked before being set on the table. At Aigiale on Amorgos a ram, undivided, was to be boiled and set beside a hero's statue, along with four measures of wheat,

those frequently assigned to priests as their honorific shares (*gera*) without reference to a table.⁸⁶ In effect, the normal emoluments of the priest are being put into the god's column in the sacrificial accounting. Only very rarely was a part or a fraction of the animal destroyed for the god in the altar fire (e.g., the thigh at Selinus, discussed above).⁸⁷ The deposition of parts on the table can be seen, on one hand, as expanding the concept of the rights of priests to what is not burnt on the analogy of the presentation of meals in *theoxenia*, and, on the other, as increasing the god's share on the analogy of the burning of a part of the animal. Two purposes may have been served: (1) the priest's rewards are protected and dignified by being thought of as part of what was given to the god; (2) the god's share was substantially increased.

The convention of normal sacrifice (*thusia*) was that by dedicating and killing an animal and burning the bones and fat the whole animal was presented to the god. Assignment of an additional part of the victim to the god, whether it was consecrated by fire or by deposition, is in a sense a violation of the convention. This is equally true for *theoxenia*, even when, as at Selinus, the meal was to be burnt. All these offerings of meals and parts of the animal constitute modes alternative to normal sacrifice for expressing human respect for the divine and, as is characteristic of complex symbolic systems, they were not necessarily seen as contradictory or inconsistent. To conceive of them as simply means of supplementing the meagerness of the god's share in normal sacrifice is to suppose that traditional *thusia* in the Classical period was no longer regarded as effective, against which its continued universal observance would surely argue.⁸⁸ The offering of a part of the animal when combined with normal sacrifice may be seen as giving the whole ceremony more weight, moving it in the direction of what was, in some respects, the most powerful rite, that of holocaust in which the whole animal was destroyed. Burning and depositing of a part of the victim were but two of many elements in the ritual vocabulary of the Greeks that could be combined in various ways for different effects.

Nevertheless the notion of supplementing normal sacrifice is not entirely irrelevant. Sacrifice may increasingly have come to be seen as division and distribution of the victim between gods and men as well as between men and men, as the comic poets rather suggest. The financial and social benefits of

and then used for the prizes in a competition the following day. The boiling may have been to preserve the meat for the day (LSS 61, 74–81).

⁸⁶ Cf. Puttkammer 1912, 31–5; Gill 1991, 15–19. ⁸⁷ Cf. also note 30 above.

⁸⁸ The view of Gill 1991, 22, that *trapezomata* constitute a supplement to a meager offering to the gods, is rejected by Bruit 1990, 171.

sacrificial distribution tend to overshadow the ritual itself in the epigraphic sources for obvious reasons, but this may in fact reflect the reality of the bustle and crush of the public festivals of Classical and Hellenistic cities where the majority of the worshippers were distanced from the ritual and participated largely through their shares of meat. Both *theoxenia* and putting the priest's shares on the table reinforced the tendency to see sacrifice as a division of meat between gods and men, a view as old as the Prometheus story in Hesiod. Under the circumstances, piety and practical considerations joined to promote this way of viewing the chief means whereby the Greeks honored their gods.

PART III

Religion and Society



Introduction

ROBERT PARKER

“Religion and Society” is the heading of this section; one should not suppose, however, that Michael Jameson was ever capable of discussing religion in isolation from society. What made him so unusual as a scholar was the way in which, on the one hand, everything (so to speak) connected with everything else in his vision; on the other hand his awareness that, on the way to writing a properly interconnected account of complex phenomena, one needs to master several distinct approaches and sub-disciplines, and his capacity to do so. “The Spectacular and the Obscure in Athenian Religion,” for instance, shows how identifying late additions to the inscribed text of a deme calendar might be relevant to a large issue in the interpretation of ritual; “Labda, Lambda and Labdacus” moves between the form of a letter in the archaic Corinthian (and Sicyonian) alphabet and Greek attitudes to abnormality and tyranny; “Sacrifice and Animal Husbandry” treats Greek stock-rearing strategies, Greek sacrificial preferences and technical problems over prices with impartial attention. And the point might be illustrated again and again. Despite its surface limpity, his writing is stuffed with thought; the following comments can trace only a few threads within a dense fabric.

“Labda, Lambda and Labdacus” handles topics also discussed by J.-P. Vernant in a well-known paper “From Oedipus to Periander: Lameness, Tyranny, Incest in Legend and History.”¹ Cypselus, first tyrant of Corinth, was born of limping Labda; Oedipus, “swell-foot,” had an ancestor whose name Labdacus suggests that he too, like Labda, was lame. In myth and mythicized history, therefore, limping ancestors bode ill for their descendants. But Jameson starts from a very specific observation not made by Vernant: labda is an alternative name for the letter better known as lambda, and Labda the limping girl got her name, it was already believed in antiquity, because the letter itself limped: in its archaic Corinthian form lambda had two slanting arms/legs not, as later, of equal but of unequal length. The

¹ J. P. Vernant, “From Oedipus to Periander: Lameness, Tyranny, Incest in Legend and History,” *Arethusa* 15, 1982, 19–38 (repr. in R. Buxton, ed., *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion*, Oxford 2000, 109–32); see too now D. Ogden, *The Crooked Kings of Ancient Greece*, London 1997, 90–1, and for an earlier study on a related topic, J. N. Bremmer, “Medon: The Case of the Bodily Blemished King,” in *Perennitas: studi in onore di Angelo Brelich*, Rome 1980, 67–76.

connection is hard to resist, and, if it is correct, two conclusions follow: the stories of both Labda and Labdacus postdate the adoption in Greece of the Phoenician alphabet, and the shadowy Labdacus should have entered the ancestry of Oedipus in a region where the limping lambda was in use (as it was not in archaic Boeotian script). Jameson tentatively suggests that Labdacus may first have stumbled into the Theban royal genealogy in an epic *Europia* ascribed to the archaic Corinthian poet Eumelus.²

“Sacrifice and Animal Husbandry” is arguably Jameson’s finest paper;³ certainly it illustrates very vividly how he brought together interests and expertises that no previous scholar had combined, in order to tackle a question that had never been posed. His conclusion is that in rural Attica (the only region for which extensive evidence is available) sheep and goats were kept primarily to provide milk and wool, and “the sacrificial calendar was close to that of seasonal availability from the annual increase of young animals and the culling of older ones.” The logic of pastoralism directed to production of milk and wool, therefore, determined what was sacrificed and when; it was not the case that the demands of sacrifice determined what animals were reared and how. But a minority of specific rules demanding (e.g.) the sacrifice of an uncastrated sheep or goat defy stock-rearing logic, whence “it is inescapable that, while sacrificial practice seems generally consistent with the other reasons for maintaining animals, the primarily expressive character of certain rules has purposes of its own.”⁴ A further exception must be made for the Athenian polis’ requirement for (on his controversial calculation) at least 1,400⁵ sacrificial cattle annually; such a requirement can only have been met by animals bred for the purpose outside

² On this poem see now M. L. West, “Eumelus: A Corinthian Epic Cycle?,” *JHS* 122, 2002, 109–132 (repr. in West, *Hellenica I*, Oxford 2011, 353–91); West’s comment, 128, that “one of its foci may have been Boeotian mythology, seen from a Sicyonian–Corinthian perspective,” is highly compatible with Jameson’s argument, though he dates the poem later (“late seventh century at the earliest”) than does Jameson.

³ “Sacrifice and Animal Husbandry in Classical Greece,” in C. R. Whittaker, ed., *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity*, *CPhS Suppl.* 14, 1988, 115–19 (chapter 10 this volume, pp. 198–231). A ms. reference to the Delian inscriptions, published in *BCH* 29, 1905, 417–573 and *BCH* 34, 1910, 122–86 suggests that Jameson might have included Delian material had he lived to revise his paper.

⁴ Jameson 1988a, 106.

⁵ The figure depends on the scrupulous but confessedly speculative calculations of the price of ox-hides contained in the appendix. V. J. Rosivach, *The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens*, Atlanta, GA 1994, 63–4, 155–7, offers a different calculation and a much lower minimum figure of 724. See too now F. S. Naiden, *Smoke Signals for the Gods*, Oxford 2013, 172–3 (agnostic, but apparently inclined to go lower still). The relative costs of different sacrificial animals are much easier to determine than the value of a hide, and on this point Jameson’s conclusions are not disputed: cf. F. van Straten, “Greek Sacrificial Representations,” in T. Linders and G. Nordquist, eds., *Gifts to the Gods*, Uppsala 1987, 159–70.

Attica (in Boeotia or Euboea).⁶ There is, therefore, a crucial difference of scale between, say, an Attic deme and the “archaic city” (see below) of Athens: the deme was self-sufficient or almost so in sacrificial animals, available as by-products of milk and wool production, whereas Athens contributed meat to the diet of its citizens at a much more substantial level, but only by dint of a heavy reliance on importation of animals specially reared for sacrifice.

One of many innovative aspects of the paper was the synthesis that it provided of the evidence from excavated bones for the selection of animals for sacrifice. The subject has developed rapidly since then, and a new synthesis by Gunnell Ekroth is awaited keenly.⁷ Jameson’s warnings (in [note 9](#)) will retain their relevance, however: not every bone found in a sacrificial context will necessarily derive from an animal actually sacrificed, and some caution is needed vis-à-vis claims that many more species were offered than the written sources imply. An *en passant* observation early in the paper raises an interesting issue for the theory of sacrifice. If, as is generally believed, “the Greeks derived virtually all their meat (aside from game) from the ritual of sacrifice,” what then happened to imperfect animals (lame animals for instance) which were supposedly unsuitable for sacrifice? Or to those, such as the plow ox, which were supposedly exempted from sacrifice by a religious rule? We must suppose either (1) that their meat was allowed to go to waste, or (2) that they were sacrificed all the same, or (3) that the non-sacrificial killing of animals for meat did occasionally occur. Jameson answers his own question by a blend of (2) and (3). (3) must certainly raise some difficulties for the theory (J.-P. Vernant’s) which sees sacrifice as the mechanism which legitimates killing with a view to eating.⁸ Jameson does not in this context press home the theoretical issue. But, as so often, he has detected an aspect of a problem that others have neglected.

“Religion in the Athenian Democracy” is probably the best brief treatment of its subject that is available; it is instructive both for the wide range of questions that it poses, and for the very judicious answers that it provides. The big story used to be seen as one of how the city secured control of cults hitherto managed, as instruments of their power, by aristocratic *gene*.

⁶ Rosivach [1994](#), 158–9, dissents, though his broad picture of Attic stock-rearing is in most points similar to Jameson’s.

⁷ G. Ekroth, “Bare Bones: Osteology and Greek Sacrifice,” in I. Rutherford and S. Hitch, eds., *Greek Animal Sacrifice* (Cambridge, forthcoming); see the “archaeozoological” contributions of M. Leguilloux to the article, “Les sacrifices dans le monde grec,” in *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* I, Los Angeles 2004, 59–134.

⁸ See e.g. J.-P. Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals*, Princeton 1991, 290–302. On the problem see R. Parker, *On Greek Religion*, Ithaca 2011, 131–2, and for vigorous rejection of Vernant’s position, Naiden [2013](#), 232–58.

Jameson notes that recent research on the *gene* has undermined the old consensus: management of cults had never been an important basis of aristocratic power, and though priesthoods open to all, rather than confined to particular *gene*, certainly emerged for the first time under the democracy, the transition was gradual and not, so far as we can tell, politically charged. He stresses instead the new role of the polis as provider of sacrificial meat on a large scale. It was now possible for all citizens to feast like lords, very frequently, at the city's expense: "there was hardly a more democratic feature of the religious life of classical Athens."⁹ He adds that the demos enjoyed not just the material but also the religious benefits that, it was hoped, would ensue; for ordinary Athenians saw no opposition or incompatibility between the pleasure taken by gods and by men in a sacrifice (or festival, or competition). Equally refreshing is Jameson's take – nuanced, but tending to skepticism – on the crisis in late fifth century religion supposedly revealed by an insurge of corrupting foreign cults,¹⁰ impiety trials, alienation of intellectuals from popular religion, and so on; his conclusion is that "religion under the fourth-century democracy did not differ greatly from that of the fifth century."¹¹ If these positions which Jameson rejects are old-established ones, he is also an early critic of the more recent model of "polis religion," at least when pressed too far: "in sum, polis religion is not the whole story";¹² "controls over cults that were neither paid for nor managed by the state were loose, and a considerable amount of experimentation took place." He notes that, in three trials for introducing foreign gods in the fourth century, the accused were women (two certainly foreign), and there were several other items on the charge sheet; the target of attack was less "foreign gods" than "rackety (foreign) women."¹³ Yet when he states that "there was nothing

⁹ Jameson, "Religion in the Athenian Democracy," in I. Morris and K. Raaflaub, eds., *Democracy 2500? Questions and Challenges*, Archaeological Institute of America Colloquia and Conference Papers 2, Boston 1997, 178 (chapter 11 this volume, pp. 232–69).

¹⁰ On the chronology of these introductions, which supports Jameson's position, see R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History*, Oxford 1996, 196–7.

¹¹ Jameson 1997b, 191. Contrast the interesting study of A. Rubel, *Stadt in Angst: Religion und Politik in Athen während des Peloponnesischen Krieges*, Darmstadt 2000; new English ed., *Fear and Loathing in Ancient Athens: Religion and Politics during the Peloponnesian War*, Durham 2014.

¹² Jameson 1997b, 172. For other critiques of the model, see e.g. A. Bendlin, "Looking beyond the Civic Compromise: Religious Pluralism in Late Republican Rome," in E. Bispham and C. Smith, eds., *Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy*, Edinburgh 2000, 115–35; the useful survey in the introduction to S. Krauter, *Bürgerrecht und Kulturteilnahme*, Berlin 2004; J. Kindt, *Rethinking Greek Religion*, Cambridge 2012, 12–35 (largely reprinted from *Kernos* 22, 2009, 9–34).

¹³ See M. H. Jameson, "Women and Democracy in Fourth-century Athens," in P. Brulé and J. Oulhen, eds., *Esclavage, guerre, économie en Grèce ancienne, Hommages à Yvon Garlan*, Rennes 1997, 95–107.

in principle to prevent the demos from intervening against any activity it might regard as harmful,” he is accepting a central tenet of the polis religion model; his reservation is that, in practice, religious change was hard to control and even to identify, and the need to do so was not very strongly felt. “Practically, Athens was a relatively open society.”¹⁴

“The Spectacular and the Obscure in Athenian Religion” was a contribution to a collective volume on then fashionable topic of *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*.¹⁵ Jameson opens with the statement that “Ritual is by its very nature performative,” and speaks of the “rewarding attention which is currently being paid to the performative aspects of Greek culture.” He duly describes the demonstrative aspects of sacrifice, which he takes as “the central and essential ritual”; the opening paragraph of the essay, which briefly reviews other forms of ritual action in Greece and argues that in different ways they all imply the centrality of sacrifice, is a good illustration of the pervasive thoughtfulness of his writing. But, in a way rather characteristic of this thinker who followed his own paths, the essay goes on to emphasize those occasions of Greek sacrifice which, precisely, are not performances in the sense of requiring an audience or numerous participants. He argues that “few Athenians other than those charged with their performance . . . were likely to participate in a great many of the rites for which the polis had a responsibility”; and the same applies *a fortiori* to the demes. There was a whole level of ritual activity which was “performative” only in the sense of a “performative utterance,” one that achieves its effect by the fact of taking place. He distinguishes these rituals not only from those that are “spectacular” but also from those that are secret: “secret” rituals usually involve “advertised secrecy,” an inverted form of display,¹⁶ whereas these rituals are genuinely content to be, in his term, “obscure.” Communication and community only enter the picture in the sense, admittedly a very important one, that Athenians at large wished to be assured that such rituals

¹⁴ Jameson 1997b, 187. For chronological reasons, Jameson’s essay is independent of both H. S. Versnel’s “Religion and Democracy,” in W. Eder, ed., *Die athenische Demokratie im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Stuttgart 1995, 367–88 (Versnel finds the connections between the two subjects of his title very limited), and my *Athenian Religion: A History*, Oxford 1996. I am delighted by the number of points on which Jameson and I agree, even in detail, such as our rejection of Nilsson’s political explanation for the introduction of the cult of Bendis; a modest disagreement is that Jameson sees the Athenian sacrificial calendar as essentially unregulated until the end of the fifth century, whereas I stress (43–55) the continuing importance of the Solonian calendar.

¹⁵ Jameson, “The Spectacular and the Obscure in Greek Religion,” in S. Goldhill and R. Osborne, eds., *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*, Cambridge 1998, 321–2 (chapter 12 this volume, pp. 270–90).

¹⁶ See J. N. Bremmer, “Religious Secrets and Secrecy in Classical Greece,” in H. G. Kippenberg and G. G. Stroumsa, eds., *Secrecy and Concealment*, Leiden 1995, 61–78.

were being performed on their behalf in order to propitiate an appropriate range of gods and heroes; these rites had to be reported on, verbally or through monumental inscribed calendars, even though they were not seen.

Jameson speaks of this as a “perhaps obvious conclusion.” But insight is often best deployed in seeing what is important about what is obvious. Once again his argument is worth pondering in relation to the theory of sacrifice. Sacrifice, according to Vernant, is killing in order to eat; and Schmitt-Pantel has memorably described Greek public religion in terms of “la cité au banquet.”¹⁷ But Jameson suggests that in classical Athens it was not the norm for large-scale sacrifices conducted by public bodies to be followed by public feasts. On the evidence of sacrificial calendars he points out that sacrificial meat was sometimes sold; and he infers from the occasional specification “no carrying away” (of meat) that what more regularly happened at the sacrifices at which all citizens were entitled to a cut was that the meat was distributed and then taken home. Not, then, a mass open-air barbecue in the Ceramicus (as commonly envisaged, on the basis of Rhodes/Osborne, no. 81 B 24–5), but banquets all over the city in private *andrones*.¹⁸ The suggestion is provocative but not completely compelling. All that the “no carrying away” regulations prove is that, where no such regulation was in force, “carrying away” was permitted; this need not mean that it was the normal practice. Jameson argues that a communal meal was practicable only for sacrificial groups of a limited size, smaller than the polis or even an Athenian tribe. But does not the language of ἐστίασις, found not only at deme but also at tribal level,¹⁹ imply actual feasting? Yet one must concede to Jameson that great collective banquets at which the meat of several hundred oxen was consumed are hard to imagine in concrete and practical terms.

The question of scale is central, finally, to “Sacred Space and the City: Greece and Bhaktapur,” Jameson’s response to Robert Levy’s study of this small Hindu city in Nepal and to his comparison between it and the Greek polis. Levy had argued that, despite similar origins, the worlds of (e.g.) Bhaktapur and the Greek polis had come to diverge because of the influence of “the Greek enlightenment” of the sixth century on the latter. Jameson

¹⁷ P. Schmitt-Pantel, *La cité au banquet: histoire des repas publics dans les cités grecques*, Collection de l’École française de Rome 157, Paris 1992. Naiden 2013, 258–74, seeks to downplay the scale of public feasting.

¹⁸ P. J. Rhodes and R. G. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC*, Oxford 2003, no. 81 B 24–5. Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 129–30, envisages (in the case of the Panathenaea) feasting tribe by tribe.

¹⁹ Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 120–5.

points out that the features of the Greek polis singled out by Levy cannot be explained with reference to the so-called enlightenment, except in some degree the emergence of drama as a context for intellectual exchange. But the point of the paper lies not in these specific negative conclusions but, on the contrary, in the positive plea it contains to ancient historians to test the usefulness for the Greek world of Levy's concept of the "archaic city." In Jameson's paraphrase of Levy, "such cities, the result of primary urbanization when a number of smaller communities coalesce, stand in contrast both to the simpler, face-to-face societies," of the type most often studied by anthropologists, "as well as to the cosmopolitan, 'modern' cities composed of diverse cultural constituents."²⁰ Greek cities, often the product of synoecism from largely homogeneous elements, fall neatly under the definition, and when one reads that "the expansion and differentiation of dramatic, attention grabbing, deeply interesting and compelling religious forms" is essential "for this integration of small component units into a complex city" (Levy, quoted by Jameson), one may well be reminded of the kind of interpretations that have quite independently been offered of, for instance, the religion of Pisistratean Athens. The "archaic city" is surely a valuable conceptual tool; it would have been interesting to know Jameson's specific reaction (it would doubtless have been positive in general) to Mogens Hansen's concept of the "city-state culture."²¹

²⁰ Jameson, "Sacred Space and the City: Greece and Bhaktapur", *International Journal of Hindu Studies*, 1, 1997, 485 ([chapter 13](#) this volume, pp. 302–15).

²¹ M. H. Hansen, ed., *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures*, Copenhagen 2000, and *A Comparative Study of Six City-State Cultures*, Copenhagen 2002.

I

Two figures of Greek story owe their names to a letter of the Greek alphabet. One is Labda, the lame daughter of an otherwise unknown Amphion of Corinth, a member of the ruling group of Bacchiads in the seventh century BC. No Bacchiad would marry her, so she became the wife of Aëtion (Eëtion), son of Echecrates, who claimed Lapith ancestry. She gave birth to Cypselus, destined to overthrow the Bacchiads and establish a tyranny (Hdt. 5.92b–e, Nic. Dam. = *FGrH* 90 F 57, cf. Paus. 5.18.7; Plut. *Moralia* 163F–164A). Cypselus’ ascension to power dates to the mid-seventh century.¹ His mother is not likely to have been born later than circa 700 BC or to have married later than circa 680 BC.

The other figure is Labdacus, the father of Laius and grandfather of Oedipus of Thebes. Labdacus’ lameness is apparently not mentioned in any ancient text and few incidents are attached to him, but the combination of his grandson’s name “Swellfoot” and the close resemblance of his own name to that of the lame Labda have led most scholars to suppose that Labdacus meant “the Lame One.”²

There has also been agreement that both Labda’s and Labdacus’ names probably or certainly derive from the Phoenician letter *lamed*, known in

Originally published in M. del Chiaro, ed., *Corinthiaca: Studies in Honor of Darrell A. Amyx*, Columbia, MO 1986, 3–11.

¹ In support of the traditional “high” date, see ML 11; J. Servais, “Hérodote et la chronologie des Cypselides,” *L’AntCl* 38, 1969, 28–81; A. A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition*, Lewisburg, PA 1979, 234–45. The low chronology with Cypselus coming to power circa 620 BC was favored by E. Will, *Korinthiaka; recherches sur l’histoire et la civilisation de Corinthe des origines aux guerres médiques*, Paris 1995, 363–440.

² For Labdacus’ name, see A. Fick and F. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Personennamen*, 2nd edn, Göttingen 1894, 429; C. Robert, *Oedipus: Geschichte eines poetischen Stoffs im griechischen Altertum*, Berlin 1915, 59; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Munich 1906, I:504, n. 2; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris 1968, s.v. *labda*. On Oedipus’ name, see Fick and Bechtel 1894, 403; L. W. Daly, s.v. “Oidipous,” *RE* XVII, 1937, 2104–5 and *Suppl.* VII, 1940, 786; and L. Edmunds, “The Cults and the Legends of Oedipus,” *HSCP* 85, 1981, 233–6, who argues that it was in origin a plant name. On Laius’ name, see below, [note 28](#).

Greek as *labda* and *lambda*.³ Ancient support for the derivation of Labda's name has been found in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. βλαῖσός (199 Gaisford), where the condition is that of being splay-footed, knock-kneed, or bandy. The lexicographers knew only the classical and later the Ionic form [Λ] and interpreted the woman's condition accordingly. More plausibly, philologists have taken the *lambda* to be the archaic form with one stroke shorter than the other, thus [Λ̣]. Her lameness would have been the result of having one leg shorter than the other.⁴

The coining of these two names requires that the Greeks had adopted the Phoenician alphabet and had gained sufficient familiarity with it for the allusion to the letter to be understood easily. The names, therefore, originated at a date later than circa 800 BC and most likely later than circa 750 BC.⁵ This easily accommodates the seventh century Corinthian woman, Labda, and confirms the impression that Labdacus had no long history, even as he had no distinctive myth or personality. A single source mentions his death while opposing Dionysus, a fate said to have resembled that of Pentheus, and a border war with the Attic king Pandion (Apollod. 3.40 and 193). But it has been noted that the form of the *lambda* required to produce the Theban king's name is not Boeotian, which in the epichoric alphabet was turned upside down, [Λ̣] as it was also in neighboring Euboea and Attica.⁶ The coast of Asia Minor and the Aegean islands had the requisite hooked *lambda*, and Ionic poetry of the early archaic period could have

³ On the name of the letter see E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. 1, Munich 1939, 140; and Chantraine 1968, s.v. *labda*.

⁴ Robert 1915, 59; Fick and Bechtel 1894, 429; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aischylos. Interpretationen*, Berlin 1914, 105 and *Kleine Schriften*, Berlin 1935, 218 = "Exkurse zum Oidipus," *Hermes* 34, 1899, 64; S. I. Oost, "Cypselus the Bacchiad," *CPh* 67, 1972, 17, n. 29. E. Curtius, *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*, Leipzig 1879, 655, derived Λάβδακος from λαΨός, but he has not been followed.

⁵ On the introduction of the Phoenician alphabet, P. K. McCarter, Jr., *The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet and the Early Phoenician Scripts*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 9, Missoula, MO 1979, especially 123–6 (on lambda, 83–4); B. S. J. Isserlin, "The Earliest Alphabetic Writing," in J. Boardman, N. G. L. Hammond, I. E. S. Edwards, and E. Sollberger, eds., *CAH III*, Part 1, *The Prehistory of the Balkans and the Middle East and the Aegean World, Tenth to Eighth Centuries BC*, 2nd edn, Cambridge 1982, 816–18 and L. H. Jeffery, "Greek Alphabetic Writing," in Boardman et al. 1982, 830.

⁶ Robert 1915; F. Vian, *Les origines de Thèbes: Cadmus et les Spartes*, Paris 1963, 178, n. 6, tries to keep the Theban origin by citing Herodotus' comparison (5.59) of Cadmeian letters with Ionian. But the evidence for the Boeotian epichoric alphabet is unequivocal. The most convenient place to examine the letter forms of the early alphabets is the "Table of Letters" at the end of L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, reprinted in Jeffery 1982, 823–4, together with the detailed tables for each local alphabet. The Boeotian, Euboean, and Attic alphabets preserve the stance of the Semitic letter while the Ionic and Corinthian, among others, have turned it upside down.

been the source of Labdacus' name. But Corinth had the same *lambda*, as did her small neighboring states and Aegina and the northwestern part of the Peloponnesus. The name of Labda, the other one of our two alphabetic figures, was certainly at home in a local Corinthian story. A recent study of early Corinthian writing on vases sees the slanting *lambda* with one short leg as standard in the seventh and sixth centuries and argues that in general Corinth was more developed in its letter forms than other areas.⁷ Writing was a familiar adornment of pottery and one would suppose that in Corinth, with its active commercial life, writing was commonly used at an early date.⁸ In this context the limping letter form was easily used for the lame woman, the mother of Cypselus. The name of the Theban king, Labdacus, may also, I suggest, have originated in Corinth.

The generations of Theban kings between Cadmus and Oedipus were relatively obscure, and they have been taken to be linking figures, conjured up to attach Oedipus and his parents to the founder of the line.⁹ The seven generations of kings through which Tiresias had lived are mentioned but not named in a fragment of the *Melampodia* (M-W fr. 267), a poem at times attributed to Hesiod in antiquity, but now thought to have been a later product. Only Cadmus' son Polydorus is mentioned by Hesiod (*Theog.* 978). The name of Labdacus, the next in line, is not preserved from any author before Pindar, *Isthmian* 3.16, of 461 BC, where it is implicit in the name of his descendants, the Labdacidae, said to be still living in Thebes. The full sequence, Cadmus, Polydorus, Labdacus, and Laius, is found in Herodotus 5.59.

The Cyclic Epics, however, offered a number of occasions for the mention of Labdacus. In the *Cypria* Nestor is said to have told of Oedipus

⁷ F. Lorber, *Inschriften auf korinthischen Vasen*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Archäologische Forschungen, 6, Berlin, 1979, 99 and 16. Cf. R. Arena, "Le iscrizioni corinzie su vasi," *MLA*, ser. 8, 13, 1967. The information in Lorber, however, is neither complete nor altogether accurate, as is shown by A. Johnston, "Review of F. Lorber, *Inschriften auf korinthischen Vasen*," *JHS* 101, 1981, 223–4 and A. L. Boegehold, "Review of F. Lorber, *Inschriften auf korinthischen Vasen*, Berlin 1979," *AJA* 87, 1983, 281. I am much indebted to Prof. Boegehold for allowing me to read this review in manuscript as well as his discussion of inscriptions from the Corinthian "Potters' Quarter," published as "Appendix 1: The Inscriptions," in A. N. Stillwell and J. L. Benson, eds., *Corinth XV, iii: The Potters' Quarter*, Princeton 1985, 358–62. He would now date the earliest examples of writing from the "Potters' Quarter" to between 720 and 650 BC. See A. N. Stillwell, "Eighth Century BC Inscriptions from Corinth," *AJA* 37, 1933, 605–10 = Jeffery 1961, 120–1 and 130, n. 1 and Pl. 18.

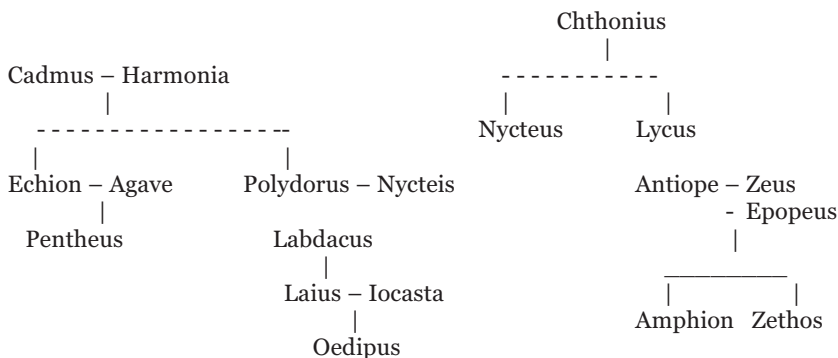
⁸ The notorious scarcity of public inscriptions at Corinth in the Classical and Hellenistic periods is another matter. The nature of Corinthian political life, the lack of local marble, and possibly the use of wooden boards may all have contributed. See S. Dow, "Corinthiaca," *HSCP* 53, 1942, 113–18 and J. H. Kent, *Corinth, VIII, iii, The Inscriptions 1926–1950*, Princeton 1966, 1–2.

⁹ Robert 1915, 59; Vian 1963, 178, 198–9.

in a digression that also covered Epopeus' rape of the daughter of Lycus (elsewhere Lycus is king of Thebes in Laius' minority, Apollod. 3.40, Hyg. 9.1), the madness of Heracles, and the story of Theseus and Ariadne (Procl. *Chrestomathia*, Allen, 103, 20–4). Three of these four incidents touch on Thebes. But in a digression the most that might be expected, despite Nestor's garrulousness, is the naming of Labdacus as the grandfather of Oedipus or the grandnephew of Lycus. The introduction of a figure with such a distinctive name into epic poetry for the first time seems unlikely under these circumstances. Other early poems, the *Thebaïs* and the *Oedipodeia*, told of Laius, Oedipus, and Oedipus' children.¹⁰ It is improbable, perhaps impossible, that Laius bore no patronymic, and no alternative to Labdacus as his father has come down to us, but there is no indication that stories about Laius' father were included in these two epics. Thus an allusion to Labdacus with no recounting of tales connected with him or with others of the intermediate generations seems unlikely in one or more of the Cyclic Epics – *Cypria*, *Thebaïs*, or *Oedipodeia*. We need to look elsewhere for a fuller account of the generations after Cadmus. The source should be no earlier than the late eighth or early seventh century, to judge from the alphabetical reference in Labdacus' name, and not much later if that name was to become available for use by the composers of other archaic poems.

II

A version of Oedipus's genealogy is given in Apollodorus (3.39–48):



Elements from the chain of stories attached to this genealogy were used by Euripides and other classical and Hellenistic poets. It is reasonable to

¹⁰ Fragments in EGF 8–13; cf. A. Severyns, *Le cycle épique dans l'école d'Aristarque*, Liège and Paris 1928, 211–12; C. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis*, Cambridge, MA 1969, 39–50.

suppose that they elaborated on or deviated from an Archaic source or sources, even though in the state of our knowledge it may not be possible to distinguish the earliest material in late syntheses such as that of Apollodorus.¹¹ While Labdacus is young, his maternal kin, Nycteus and Lycus, each hold the Theban kingship in turn. Lycus' daughter Antiope, a figure associated with Mt. Cithaeron, turns us toward Corinth and Sicyon. Later in the genealogy Oedipus too is associated with Cithaeron, Corinth, and Sicyon. When Oedipus' story is stripped down by the rationalizing Palaephatus, he is left as "a Corinthian man" and a successful soldier with a fast horse. Influence of Corinthian poetry on the formation of the familiar story has, understandably, been suggested.¹²

The name of the poet Eumelus, son of Amphilytus, a Bacchiad (Paus. 2.1.1), is the only one that has come down to us associated with Corinthian poetry, despite Pindar's praise of the Corinthian muse (*Ol.* 13.22), and this has caused some surprise. But just as the names of Homer and Hesiod gathered to them anonymous poetry of Ionic and Central Greek origin respectively, it is likely that what was known to be Corinthian came to be attached to Eumelus' name.¹³ Of the poems attributed to him, three are relevant to our problem: (1) a *prosodion* to Delian Apollo, composed for the Messenians around the time of their first struggle with the Lacedaemonians, in the late eighth century BC;¹⁴ (2) a *Europia*; and (3) a *Corinthiaca*, known to Pausanias only in a prose version. The *Europia* told how Amphion (Antiope's son) learned from Hermes the use of the lyre with which he charmed stones to form the walls of Thebes. Cadmus, the first in line of the Theban kings, was a kinsman of Europa and came to Thebes in the course of his search for her (the only surviving reference to either figure in this work is the name of the poem). The poem also dealt with Dionysus, son of Zeus and Cadmus' daughter Semele – his purification at Cybela in Asia Minor by Rhea, his organization of rites and acquisition from her of paraphernalia,

¹¹ Besides the versions of the Pentheus story, see Euripides' *Antiope*, TGF² 410–26; Page, *GLP*, 60–71.

¹² On Antiope, see K. Wernicke, s.v. "Antiope," *REI*, 1895, 2495–500. The Hesiodic *Catalogue* had an *Ehoia* of Antiope that connected her with Boeotian Hyaria on the Euripus and told of the twin sons building the walls of Thebes with the lyre and of their marriages, Fr. 181–3. On Oedipus as a Corinthian, Palaephatus 4.7 in N. Festa *et al.*, eds., *Mythographi Graeci*, Leipzig 1894, III.2, 12; cf. Paus. 9.26.2.

¹³ Cf. C. M. Bowra, "Two Lines of Eumelus," *CQ* 13, 1963, 148.

¹⁴ *EGF* 193–4; Page, *PMG*, N. 696, from Paus. 4.33.2; in 4.4.1 Pausanias refers to it as the only genuine work of Eumelus. For discussion, see Bowra 1963, 145–53; Huxley 1969, 62. On the date of the first Messenian War (735–715 BC), see L. H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece: The City–States c. 700–500 BC*, London 1976, 115. On the ancient dates for Eumelus, see Mosshammer 1979, 195–203.

his reception with songs and honors among all men until he meets with persecution at the hands of the Thracian king Lycurgus.¹⁵

The Dionysian stories may have been attractive to the Corinthians, the inventors of the dithyramb,¹⁶ whose rulers in the late eighth century derived themselves from a certain Bacchis (Paus. 2.4.4, cf. Heraclides Lembus, *FHG* 2, 212–13, 5 ap. Arist. Fr. 611.20 Rose).

If the *Europia* told of later generations of Cadmus' descendants, there would have been further Dionysiac elements: Pentheus, son of Cadmus' daughter Agave, engaged in fatal conflict with the god; Labdacus was said to have followed Pentheus' path (Apollod. 3.40); Dirce, Lycus' wife, was a devotee (Hyg. 7 and 8). One hears anticipations (or are they echoes?) of Euripides' *Bacchae* in the miraculous falling away of chains from Antiope imprisoned by Dirce and Lycus; and Dirce, having planned Antiope's death by impalement on a bull, suffers this fate herself (Apollod. 3.43). With its Theban and Dionysian themes, a Corinthian *Europia* of the Bacchiad period, perhaps by the poet of the hymn to Delian Apollo, would be an attractive candidate for supplying the linking generations of the Cadmeian line, including Labdacus.

A third work sometimes attributed to Eumelus, the *Corinthiaca*, is very different from the first two we have considered and is less relevant to our problem, but it needs to be examined because of a discrepancy with what I have attributed to the *Europia*. This third work furnished a Corinth painfully barren of heroic traditions with a legendary past by identifying the Homeric Ephyre with Corinth and by appropriating the Argonautic adventures. There is no hint of an interest in Thebes, and two key figures in the genealogy cited above from Apollodorus, Antiope and Epopeus, appear in very different positions. Antiope is now the mother by Helius of Aloeus and Aeëtes, and Aloeus is the father of Epopeus. Antiope is thus Epopeus' grandmother, not his bride, and there is no reference to her bearing the Theban heroes Amphion and Zethus. Epopeus, to be sure, retains his unpleasant personality. His son Marathon flees from him to Attica, returning only after his father's death, when he divides the land in two, leaving Ephyre to

¹⁵ *EGF* 186, 192–3, and Paus. 9.5.8, in an account of the whole Cadmeian line; Huxley 1969, 75–8 (60–79 are on Eumelus); T. F. R. G. Braun, "The Greeks in the Near East," in J. Boardman and N. G. L. Hammond, eds., *CAH* III, 3: *Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Centuries BC*, 2nd edn, Cambridge 1982, 30. Corinth, with its early contacts with the Near East, might well have been interested in Europa and Cadmus.

¹⁶ Pind. *Ol.* 13, 19, cf. Hdt. 1.23, attributing its invention to Arion, who flourished at the court of Periander in the late seventh century; but the dithyramb in some form was known earlier, Archil. 120 West.

his son, the eponymous Corinthus, and Asopia to the equally eponymous Sicyon.¹⁷

The *Corinthiaca* shows disagreement with the treatment of Antiope and Epopeus, which I have suggested was derived from the *Europia*. The interests of the two poems were different, and it is by no means necessary that they were by the same poet. The *Corinthiaca* was just what its name indicated, a poem on Corinthian matters, and its attribution to the most famous Corinthian poet is not surprising, while there is no obvious reason why the Messenian commission for a hymn to Delian Apollo or the Theban subjects of the *Europia* should have been attributed falsely to Eumelus. The authorship of the *Europia* is not essential to the argument. Nonetheless, these two works, in contrast to the patriotic focus of the *Corinthiaca*, suit a poet of the late eighth century BC with wide contacts and interests (Messenia, Delos, Boeotia); the poet himself was perhaps a member of the Bacchiad ruling elite which, it should be noted, is said to have furnished Thebes with a legislator by the name of Philolaus (Arist. *Pol.* 1274B 2–5).

The place of Sicyon in the development of these stories deserves consideration. The author of the *Corinthiaca* had dealt firmly with Sicyon. It was not allowed a lineage more ancient than that of the Corinthians. The Sicyonians on their side enlisted the Samian poet Asius, perhaps of the early sixth century.¹⁸ For him, Antiope was the daughter of Asopus (in agreement with *Od.* 11.260), probably identified as the Peloponnesian, not the Boeotian river. Her twin sons have two fathers, Zeus and Epopeus, just as Alcmene bore Heracles and Iphicles by Zeus and Amphitryon, respectively. This version clearly disagrees with that found in Apollodorus, which I have suggested represents the tradition of the *Europia*, where Antiope is the daughter of Nycteus; it also disagrees with that of the *Cypria*, where she is presumably the daughter (unnamed) of Lycus, Nycteus' brother; and it disagrees most of all with the *Corinthiaca*. It was, in effect, a Sicyonian answer to that poem and perhaps not far from it in date.

A contrast between Corinthian and Sicyonian versions occurs also in the events of later generations, but here we have no attributions to authors who

¹⁷ EGF 187–92 and Jacoby, *FGrH* 451; doubts on the attribution to Eumelus, Paus. 2.1.1; T. J. Dunbabin, "The Early History of Corinth," *JHS* 68, 1948, 66–8; Huxley 1969, 61–8. A more amiable Epopeus may have been presented by Euripides, cf. Hyg. 7 and 8. For an exploration of the cultic and mythic implications of Epopeus, Antiope, *et al.* at Thebes and Sicyon, see W. Burkert *Homo Necans*, Berlin 1972, 182–9, and in English translation, Berkeley 1983, 185–90.

¹⁸ EGF 202–5; Huxley 1969, 89–98, esp. 92, who, however, minimizes the differences between Asius and the Apollodoran version.

can be linked to either city. The infant Oedipus is either set adrift in a chest on the Corinthian Gulf or is exposed on Mt. Cithaeron, and is then rescued and reared by Polybus, who is described as the king of either Sicyon or Corinth. The child is brought to the Sicyonian king by herders of horses, who in Greek legend surely tend their charges on plains, not on mountains. This may suggest that they belong with the version that has Oedipus in a chest that comes to shore. The herdsmen who receive Oedipus on Cithaeron are not horsetenders, and based on geographical considerations one would expect Corinthian rather than Sicyonian herdsmen to meet Thebans on Mt. Cithaeron.¹⁹

The persistent mention of Sicyon, first in connection with Antiope and then with Oedipus, makes it possible that Sicyonian tradition or even a Sicyonian poem was influential. But, as no early Sicyonian poets were remembered, the better attested Corinthian poetry was more likely the vehicle. Not every Corinthian poet who was heir to the legends and cults at the east end of the Corinthian Gulf may have wished to suppress the Sicyonian connections. The drastic hand seen in the *Corinthiaca* is another matter, but there is no reason to think that that work concerned itself with the Theban stories. It is plausible then, that a poem or poems from this area told the story of Oedipus, and it would be economical to suppose that such a poem also dealt with his ancestors, the earlier kings of Thebes, who, I have suggested, were subjects of the *Europia*.

Placing Labdacus in a poetic context has taken us onto uncertain terrain. To summarize the argument, early Corinthian and possibly Sicyonian poetry dealt with some parts of the Cadmeian line before Oedipus and so probably dealt with Labdacus. Unlike the Thebans themselves, Corinthians and Sicyonians would have caught the alphabetic allusion in his name immediately (Sicyon's *lambda* was no different from Corinth's). If Eumelus was in fact the author of the *Europia*, the coining of Labdacus' name would have occurred under Bacchiad rule, that is, before circa 650 BC and in the vicinity of the first Messenian War, the presumed date of the poem for Delian Apollo. This is the period, late eighth or early seventh century BC,

¹⁹ Nowhere in this myth was the existence of Megara, astride the Isthmus between Cithaeron and Corinth, acknowledged, a silence certainly in accord with the Corinthian point of view. Discussions of the various versions of the Oedipus myth start with Euripides, *Phoen.* 22–30 and Schol. on 28 (cf. Schol. *Od.* 11.271 with material from Androtion, Jacoby, *FGrH* 324 F 62). See E. Bethe, *Thebanische Heldenlieder*, Leipzig 1891, 67–75; Robert 1915, 1.70; L. Deubner, "Oedipus-probleme," *AbhBerl* 4, 1942, 38–42; Edmunds 1981, 221–38 (on the connections with Sicyon, 227, n. 23). Neither in this note, nor elsewhere in this study, do I convey adequately the complexity and the ingenuity of scholarly speculation on the origin and development of these myths.

that one would have expected for Labdacus' appearance, and it is close in date to the birth of Labda.

III

The pattern of the Oedipus story has often been seen as belonging to folktale rather than heroic myth. The story of Labda and her son Cypselus may equally be more of a folktale than the history it purports to be.²⁰ The stories share the theme of the child who threatens the ruler or the rulers and miraculously survives attempts on his life. Cypselus' rise is paralleled by that of Cyrus the Great (Hdt. 1.108). A daughter of the ruler(s) marries an outsider; their son, it is prophesied, will overthrow the ruler(s); he survives attempts to kill him; he comes to manhood and fulfills the prediction. Oedipus' story has the pattern characteristic of comedy – the foundling proves to be the legitimate heir – not tragedy.²¹ One might expect a happy ending. But the theme is inherently ambivalent.

Did the story become attached to the Cypselids at the time of their rise and popularity? That is suggested in Herodotus' account (5.92.b–e) of the exciting and heart-warming incident of the baby Cypselus smiling at the first of the ten Bacchiad delegates sent to kill him and being passed in turn to each of the ten and back to his mother, and then escaping discovery hidden in a beehive when the executioners, having come to their senses outside the house, return to kill the child.²² But the overthrow of the despotism of the ruling group results in the tyranny of one man. This is seen more convincingly in the case of Periander, Cypselus' son, than with his father.²³ It is worth noting that the occasion for the whole account in

²⁰ O. Murray, *Early Greece*, Sussex, NJ 1980, 142–3, suggests a Mesopotamian origin for this type of story, appropriate to the Greek city "most receptive to oriental artistic influence." On the oracles to Aëtion, see R. Crahay, *La Littérature oraculaire chez Hérodote*, Paris 1956, 235–41, who compares the stories of Labda and Oedipus; and J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle*, Berkeley 1978, 116–17. On Oedipus, see, for example, M. P. Nilsson, "Der Oidipusmythus," GGA 184, 1922, 36–46 = *Opuscula Selecta*, vol. 1, Lund 1951, 338–48, and *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, Berkeley 1932, 104–5.

²¹ Cf. R. Lattimore, *Story Patterns in Greek Tragedy*, Ann Arbor 1969, 8–9.

²² Also in Nic. Dam., *FGH* 90 F 57, simplified and rationalized, as Jacoby remarks. On Cypselus' name and his hiding place, see G. Roux, "κυψέλη: où avait-on caché le petit Kypselos?" *REA* 65, 1963, 279–89.

²³ Herodotus is alone in depicting Cypselus as an unmitigated tyrant. Contrast Arist. *Pol.* 1315B 27–9. Among the many discussions of the Cypselid tyranny, see A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants*, London 1956, 43–53; C. Mossé, *La Tyrannie dans la Grèce antique*, Paris 1969, 25–37; Will 1955; Oost 1972, who carries furthest a not uncommon view that Cypselus was a Bacchiad and sees him reviving a Bacchiad kingship. Historically, Cypselus may indeed have exploited

Herodotus is the Corinthian warning to the Spartans against supporting the Athenian tyrant Hippias. Even the story of Cyrus, whose rise is a triumph for the Persians and a calamity for the Medes, can be seen as ambivalent. Reversals have unpredictable consequences. The Oedipus story, as perfected by Sophocles in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, offers one apparently successful escape after another to culminate in the most complete disaster.²⁴

The theme of lameness in the Theban and Corinthian stories signals and reinforces the ambivalent destinies of the heroes. The deformed and the handicapped are at the least extraordinary, at the worst monstrous and ominous. At their most benign they are well suited to be the heroes of reversals of fortune. The despised Labda, whom no Bacchiad will marry, becomes the mother of their nemesis. The lame foundling becomes king of Thebes, for a time. An oracle of Apollo, “Beware the lame kingship,” is brought out against the succession to the Spartan kingship of the lame Agesilaus in 399 BC. It is interpreted successfully by the influential Lysander as a warning against an illegitimate, not a physically lame, heir, and for Xenophon at least, Agesilaus proved to have heroic dimensions (Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.3, Plut. *Lys.* 22.12, Paus. 3.8.8–10). In more plebeian circles, Aesop, the fabulist, who was said to be extraordinarily ugly and maimed, turned the tables on his enemy, another slave by the name of Agathopus, “good-foot.”²⁵

But the sinister implications of lameness are also clear. The succession to the kingship of Cyrene by Battus III, who was lame and not *artipous* “sound of foot” and who was descended by one account from an original Battus, a bastard with a speech impediment, prompts consultation of the Delphic oracle, and in the end he turns out to be the last king of that name (Hdt. 155.1–3, 5.161.1, 5.162.4).²⁶ Some Spartans, too, clearly took Agesilaus’ lameness to be ill omened. Tenedos once had a lame king with the unpropitious name of Amaurus, “The Weak” (Heraclides Lembus, *FHG* 2, 213, 7.2 (ap. Arist. Fr. 611.23). Bacchis, the first of the Bacchiads, was said to have been lame (*FHG* 2, 212–13, 5 (Arist. Fr. 611.19)).²⁷ The lameness of his

his ties with the old ruling elite, but it should be stressed that that is not what Herodotus understood and that it is essential to the Labda story that she was cast out. Aëtion’s Lapith ancestry is used to set Cypselus apart from the previous rulers.

²⁴ Cf. J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et tragédie en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1973, 99–131.

²⁵ *Vita Aesopica*, 81 and *Vita Xanthi Philosophi*, 35 in B. Parry, *Aesopica* 1, Urbana 1952. I owe these references to the kindness of Jack Winkler.

²⁶ Βάττος meaning “stammerer” is also quoted from Hesychius. Herodotus believed the name was derived from the Libyan word for king, 5.155.2.

²⁷ But he was handsome, he ruled well, and he had ten children. Oost 1972, 23, sees Bacchis’ lameness as an insertion used by Cypselus to emphasize his membership in the *genos* via his lame mother. This is to misunderstand the implications of lameness.

descendant Labda brought an end to their reign but in time it could be seen as ominous for all the Corinthians. Labdacus initiates a crippled line that spells eventual disaster for Thebes. In the unbalanced abnormal physique and gait of the lame there may also be implications of sexual perversion and of disturbance in the normal succession of generations, as has been argued recently, and this can be exploited in depicting the essentially asocial and perverse role of the tyrant.²⁸ More generally one might say that in Greek society attention is always on the moral and religious health of the leadership, be it that of king, tyrant, or Pericles as “demagogue.” Lameness is one way of marking the anticipated break-up of order and the failure of rule.

Nothing survives to tell us what part Labdacus’ lameness played in his own story. As for Oedipus, his lameness is likely to have been more explicit in earlier versions than in Attic tragedy, which, nonetheless, makes great play with the theme of feet.²⁹ It has been suggested that he was club-footed from birth and that this fact served originally as a token by which he was recognized.³⁰ We need not suppose that it was Greek distaste for deformed heroes that shifted the original lameness of Oedipus and Cypselus to their forebears, Labdacus and Labda.³¹ Labda’s lameness explains her being cast out (or is a description of her outcast status),³² and the historical Cypselus was not known to be lame. Rather, the tell-tale defect appears early in the descent line. Transference of significant features within a story is familiar. It serves to color what follows and to confirm what preceded. For the Greeks, of course, the unity of a line of descent was strongly felt.

The Greek poetry that followed on the heroic epic we see in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey* admitted more freely the magical and the monstrous, the trivial

²⁸ J.-P. Vernant, “From Oedipus to Periander: Lameness, Tyranny, Incest in Legend and History,” *Arethusa* 15, 1982, 19–38: a rich and wide-ranging study I was fortunate enough to see before completing the present paper. Vernant’s study and the discussions of M. Delcourt, *Stérilités mystérieuses et naissances maléfiques*, Liège and Paris 1938, esp. 110–12, and *Oedipe ou la légende du conquérant*, Paris 1944, esp. 26–9, are the most rewarding comparisons of the Oedipus and Labda stories. The theme of lameness is related to that of “monosandalism,” as in Jason’s single sandal. See A. Brelich, “Les monosandales,” *NouvClio* 9, 1957, 469–84; he discusses the trait as applied to Dionysus’ enemy Lycurgus, who, as we have seen, appeared in the *Europia* (483–4). Vernant apparently takes Laius’ name from $\lambda\alpha\iota\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$, “left,” in agreement with C. Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, New York 1963, 214. (I do not know of earlier proposals for this derivation.) “Gauche” is an attractive name for a character with Laius’ misadventures and kin. But I find no ancient awareness of the possibility and no formation from $\lambda\alpha\iota\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$ among the Greek names referring to left-handedness, and I see a difficulty in the formation of $\Lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\varsigma$ from $\lambda\alpha\iota\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$. The usual derivation is from $\lambda\alpha\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$, “people,” cf. *publius*; so Fick and Bechtel 1894, 429; Delcourt 1944, 27.

²⁹ See Vernant 1982a, 36, n. 24. ³⁰ Robert 1915, 1, 63.

³¹ As argued by Delcourt 1938, 111, and 1944, 21.

³² L. Gernet, *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique*, Paris 1968, 350.

and the gross, and, not least, violence within the family.³³ It was perhaps the resurgence of a more popular, folkloric imagination. Taste and society were changing, and a different culture was emerging with Archaic Corinth as one of its major centers. While trade and colonization expanded, the Bacchiad rulers at home enforced endogamy on their members, froze the size of family properties and the number of citizens, limited the political power to themselves and within the group gave the office of *prytanis* or *basileus* to the eldest descendant of the founder of their line (not to the eldest son of the previous holder), thus guaranteeing a gerontocrat within an oligarchy.³⁴ The picture of a tense and rigid upper crust on top of an exceptionally energetic society is clear even if the details are uncertain. Whatever its precise cause or the nature of its support, Cypselus' coup in the mid-seventh century BC was a predictable explosion, and it altered Corinthian leadership permanently. It is to this world, before and after the revolution, that belong, I suggest, the stories of Labdacus and his descendants as well as the stories of Labda and her descendants. These are stories concerned with a fearful and doomed leadership and with violent reversals bringing new dangers, and they share the allusion, sophisticated for its time, to the unbalanced *lambda*.³⁵

³³ Cf. J. Griffin, "The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer," *JHS* 97, 1977, 39–53.

³⁴ On the character of the Bacchiad regime, see Will 1955, 298–362, and Oost 1972. The appointment of the eldest descendant of the founder may have been superseded by the selection of an annual official, unless one was *basileus*, the other *prytanis*.

³⁵ The representations of poetic subjects in the art of the seventh century are very restricted. The absence of Theban subjects does not tell against the suggestions made here. See H. von Steuben, *Frühe Sagendarstellungen in Korinth und Athen*, Berlin 1968, and K. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagendarstellungen bei den Griechen*, Berlin 1969, 197 with discussion of a fragment of a Cycladic relief vase from Thebes showing Europa on the bull. For the dominance of Trojan War themes, see R. Kannicht, "Poetry and Art: Homer and the Monuments Afresh," *ClAnt* 1, 1982, 76–84. Some comparisons between Corinthian "history" and Theban legend: Telestes, the last Bacchiad king, was deprived of his throne during his minority (Diod. Sic. 7.9.5), as was Laius (Apollod. 3.40, Hyg. 9.1); mother–son incest – rejected by the Bacchiad Diocles who retires to Thebes with his lover Philolaus (Arist. *Pol.* 1273.31–42, a Theban guide's story about two graves?), alleged of Periander (Aristippus ap. Diog. Laert. 1.96); Amphion, Labda's father, has the name of the builder of the walls of Thebes (was the Corinthian, or his father, responsible for the heavy defensive wall of the first half of the seventh century? See A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth* XV, I, *The Potters' Quarter*, Princeton 1948, 14–15, and R. Carpenter and A. Bon, *Corinth* III, ii, *The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town*, Cambridge, MA 1936, 82–3).

10 | Sacrifice and Animal Husbandry in Ancient Greece

Introduction

The magazine *The Economist*, for September 3rd, 1983, reported that at Mecca, in two weeks' time, Abraham's substitution of a ram for the sacrifice of his son Isaac was to be "commemorated by the slaughter of 1,200,000 animals flown in from Australia, Bulgaria, Turkey, Argentina and Uruguay and killed on behalf of 2 million Hajj pilgrims. This creates a sudden surfeit of meat. Most is burned or buried but efforts are being made to find a way of using it." I cite this article on some of the practical consequences of animal sacrifice in the present day as a reminder of the powerful impact religious belief and practice can have on the use of animals in traditional societies.¹ Sheep and goats were the most numerous victims in classical Greece, as they were the dominant livestock in the countryside. But we need to go beyond the limits of the pastoral theme of the conference which has called forth the papers in this volume and include all that is covered by animal husbandry. To understand the information from the sacrifice of any one type of victim we need to consider the alternatives open to the Greeks, which were (aside from birds) cattle, sheep, goats and pigs. So too, for the economy of the Greeks, pastoralism has to be seen in relationship to alternative uses of the land, that is to animal husbandry as a whole and to agriculture.²

The Greeks derived virtually all their meat (aside from game) from the ritual of sacrifice.³ Imperfect animals were normally regarded as inappropriate but the standards by which they were rejected would have been a

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¹ G. Dahl and A. Hjort, *Having Herds: Pastoral Herd Growing and Household Economy*, Stockholm 1976, 162–3.

² S. Hodkinson, "Animal Husbandry in the Greek Polis," in C. R. Whittaker, ed., *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity*, CPhS Suppl. 14, 1988, 35–74.

³ P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*, 3rd edn, Munich 1920, 105–6. The bulk of the evidence is consistent with this view but Arist. [*Oec.*] 2.20e, 1349b distinguishes σφάζοντες ἐπώλουν (slaughtering for sale) from ἱερόθυστα ἐπιόουν (to make an offering).

matter of judgment.⁴ The Spartans, known for their frugality, were said to sacrifice lame victims ([Pl.] *Alc.* II 149a), and those who had little alternative no doubt killed and ate animals unsuitable for ritual. Working cattle were prohibited for sacrifice (e.g., Ael. *VH* 5.14) and the rare, explicit requirement of them in sacrifice was for the purpose of making a distinct symbolic statement.⁵ But old plow- and draft-oxen may also have been consumed privately by the poor. Xenophon, when he had no alternative, sacrificed a cart ox for divination (*An.* 6.4.25). An absolute ban on the sacrifice or killing and eating of weak, sick and old animals would have had a marked effect on the returns obtained from herding, but I do not think we are required to suppose this was the case.⁶ But even if marginal members of the community sacrificed less desirable specimens and killed and consumed old working animals without ceremony, the great bulk of the meat consumed by the classical Greeks would still have come from sacrifice, directly or indirectly (from butcher shops that purchased meat from sacrifices).

In sacrifice of the normal type (which the word *thusia* usually refers to, sometimes misleadingly termed “Olympian sacrifice” by modern scholars) very few usable parts of the animal were destroyed in the fire (on the division of the victim between gods and men, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 535–612).⁷ In ritual calendars few rites demanded holocaust, the complete destruction of the victim. For example, in the Attic deme of Erchia, in the first half of the fourth century BC, out of 56 victims (all sheep, goats or pigs) only one ewe lamb and three piglets, costing altogether 16 drachmae out of a total of 520 drachmae, were holocaust; in addition, the skins of two does (female goats) were to be torn apart, if the language is understood correctly. All else was at the disposal of the worshippers (*LSCG* 18).⁸ The Greeks did in

⁴ P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, Leipzig and Berlin 1910, 197–202; L. Ziehen, “Opfer,” *RE* XXXV, 1939, 589.

⁵ On the Attic Dipolieia/Bouphonia and related rites and stories, see J.-L. Durand, *Sacrifice et labour en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1986. For a comparable prohibition in Rome, see C. Ampolo, “Le condizioni materiali della produzione: Agricoltura e paesaggio agrario,” *Dialogi di Archeologia* n.s. 1, 1980, 35, 46.

⁶ The fact that working cattle could be eaten at the end of their useful lives was one reason for their late replacement by equids, whose consumption was against the cultural code, on the Methana peninsula early in the twentieth century (Hamish Forbes, personal communication).

⁷ F. Puttkammer, *Quo modo Graeci victimarum carnes distribuerint*, Diss. Königsberg 1912.

⁸ The Erchia calendar was first published by G. Daux, “La grande démarchie d’Erchia,” *BCH* 87, 1963, 603–34. Cf. S. Dow, “The Greater demarkhia of Erchia,” *BCH* 89, 1965, 180–210; *SEG* XXI 541, XXII 131. The calendar is entitled *Demarchia he mezon* (the greater Demarchia), and it seems likely that a second, lesser list included rituals not performed every year and perhaps the notably absent rites for Demeter, cf. J. Mikalson, “The Religion of the Attic Demes,” *AJP* 98, 1977, 421–35. For a review of the problem see D. Whitehead, “The ‘Greater Demarchy’ of Erchia,” *AncW* 14, 1986, 57–64.

fact employ a wide range of powerful actions, including rites referred to as σφάγια (victim-offerings) and *enagismata* (offerings to the dead), that involved the destruction for particular purposes (e.g., oaths, purification, aversion, communication with figures of the underworld, fertility magic) both of customary victims and of other animals, such as dogs and horses, not eaten in the classical period.⁹ Except for the very small pigs frequently used in such rites (discussed below), the animals killed in these powerful actions were much fewer in number than the victims of normal sacrifice and were of little importance for animal husbandry and the food supply. Thus a description of Greek sacrificial practice is in effect a description of

⁹ For a review of the evidence for dogs, see L. P. Day, "Dog Burials in the Greek World," *AJA* 88, 1984, 21–32. It has been suggested on the basis of cut marks on the bones that dogs were consumed in the Middle Helladic I phase (ca. 2100–1850 BC) of Nichoria in Messenia. See R. E. Sloan and M. A. Duncan, "Zooarchaeology of Nichoria," in G. Rapp, Jr. and S. E. Aschenbrenner, eds., *Excavations at Nichoria in Southwest Greece*, vol. 1, *Site, Environs and Techniques*, 1978, 69. So too horses or asses, deer and small ruminants have been thought to have been sacrificed at the altar of Artemis at Ephesus. See P. Wolff, "Der Tierreste," in A. Bammer, F. Brein, and P. Wolff, "Das Tieropfer am Artemisaltar von Ephesos," in S. Sahin, E. Schwertheim, and J. Wagner, eds., *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Friedrich Karl Dörner*, vol. 1, 1978, 109–10 and A. Bammer, "Zur Datierung und Deutung der Bauten," in Bammer *et al.*, 1978, 150, 154. However the consistently wide variety of bones recovered in careful excavations shows that various processes have brought bones to the site, and that those occurring in small quantities are not an indication of normal practice on the site. See the warnings of J. Boessneck, *Die Tierknochenfunde aus dem Cabirenheiligtum bei Theben (Boeotien)*, Munich 1973, 1 and S. Payne, "Zoo-archaeology in Greece: A Reader's Guide," in N. C. Wilkie and W. D. E. Coulson, eds., *Contributions to Aegean Archaeology: Studies in Honour of William A. McDonald*, Minneapolis 1985, 225. Much food debris, not necessarily the result of sacrifice, is found in hearths and near altars. The deer that occur at a number of sites may have been killed in hunting and have had a portion or a limb dedicated as a first-fruit offering; it has not been demonstrated that in historical times live deer were normally killed in sacrifice. Cf. Ziehen 1939, 591–2, *pace* E. Kadletz, *Animal Sacrifice in Greek and Roman Religion*, Diss. Washington 1976, 84–7; with Plut. *Ages*. 6, contrast the silence of Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.4, who is careful to refer to significant ritual. Fish and fowl were offered, the former primarily as cooked food, the latter as an inexpensive offering and as a specific offering for certain deities. See D. S. Reese, "Faunal Remains from the Altar of Aphrodite Ourania, Athens," *Hesperia* 58, 1989, 63–70. In a few, distinctive rites, such as those for Artemis Laphria at Patrae (Paus. 7.18.12–13), a variety of captured wild animals were burnt whole but we have no bones from these cult places and comparable actions have not been attributed to those sites that have yielded bones. Outside of normal Greek sacrifice is the remarkable deposit of 234 units of "nearly complete bodies or butchered segments" from five cattle, 33 sheep or goats (of which eight were lambs or kids), 22 birds and 26 hen's eggs in the Maussolleion at Halicarnassus in Caria, Asia Minor from shortly before the middle of the fourth century BC. See F. Højlund, "The Deposit of Sacrificed Animals at the Entrance to the Tomb Chamber," in *The Maussolleion at Halicarnassos: Reports of the Danish Archaeological Expedition to Bodrum*, vol. 1, *The Sacrificial Deposit*, Jutland Archaeological Society Publications XV:1, 1981, 53–89, and "The Maussolleion Sacrifice," *AJA* 87, 1983, 145–52. There is no indication of burning, nor that any parts were reserved for eating. The relationship, if any, to known Greek sacrifices has yet to be established.

Greek procurement of meat for consumption and of part of their supply of animal skins, indispensable for many purposes. (See Appendix.)

The main questions we can ask of the information obtained from sacrifice are, first, what regime of animal husbandry is indicated by the pattern of sacrificial slaughtering (i.e., the species, sex and age of animals killed and the relative proportions)? Secondly, what was the contribution of sacrifice to the diet? Finally, did the needs of religion interfere significantly with the other goals of animal husbandry (such as the production of milk, wool, hair, leather and manure, and the use of cattle for work)? The evidence from inscriptions and from archaeology to be used here is presented first, followed by a discussion of cattle, pigs, sheep and goats. We conclude with a consideration of diet and of the impact of religion.

Before examining the details it may be useful to summarize the three principal strategies that have been distinguished for the maintaining of herds:

- (1) The aim is to have animals for work and for the production of wool, hair and hides. There is equality among male and female animals with most of the males being castrated. (Male sheep produce more wool and wethers are easier to control than rams; on the preference for the flesh of castrated animals, Gal. *De semine* 1.15, IV, 573 Kühn.) There is limited breeding for the purpose of maintaining the herds rather than increasing their size and selling off what cannot be run on the land available. Animals tend to be kept to maturity.
- (2) The aim is milk production. The herds are mostly female. There is a high reproductive rate and most young males are killed. Females tend not to be kept beyond twelve years for cows, six for ewes and does, and sterile females of all ages are culled.
- (3) The aim is meat production. Young males are killed, sometimes after fattening, as juveniles or young adults, at the point when the most economical balance has been achieved between the weight of the animal and the feed consumed. The mean age of animals slaughtered is less than for (1) or (2). Pigs, unlike the ruminants, are raised only for this purpose.

In most situations more than one of these aims are desired and actual practice is a compromise between various strategies.¹⁰

¹⁰ Dahl and Hjort 1976; H. A. Koster and J. B. Koster, "Competition or Symbiosis? Pastoral Adaptive Strategies in the Southern Argolid," in M. Dimen and E. Friedl, eds., *Regional Variation in Modern Greece and Cyprus: Toward a Perspective on the Ethnography of Greece*,

The evidence from inscriptions

For the evidence from sacrifice I draw primarily on inscriptions from three Attic demes. We do not have the full ritual calendar of any one community but these three, of the fifth and fourth century BC, offer a good approximation. They allow us to see the relative importance of different victims, and the times of year at which they are offered make them more useful for our purpose than information on any one festival. The sacrifices prescribed are only those for which the deme officials are responsible; those rituals in the same area for which the state, cult groups or kinship groups were responsible are not listed, and of course private sacrifices made for personal reasons are beyond our ken. One of the calendars is for the deme of Marathon (*LSCG* 20 = *IG* ii², 1358). It lacks part of the first quarter of the Attic year; it also shared in the ritual calendar of the organization of four communities known as the Marathonian Tetrapolis, which evidently saw to setting up the inscription that carried the joint and separate calendars. For the relatively large but parsimonious deme of Erchia we have a virtually complete calendar that represents the greater part of the deme's ritual obligations (*LSCG* 18 and [note 8](#), above). The most recently discovered stone is thought to come from the deme of Thorikos. The first month of the year is mutilated.¹¹

The archaeological evidence

Archaeological evidence from the remains of animal bones found in sanctuaries promises to become a valuable source of information as the techniques of excavation and analysis used on prehistoric sites are applied to sites of historical periods.¹² Hitherto, however, although there have been frequent

Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 268, 1976, 275–85; H. A. Koster, *The Ecology of Pastoralism in Relation to Changing Patterns of Land Use in the Northeast Peloponnese*, Diss. Philadelphia 1977; S. Payne, "Kill-off Patterns in Sheep and Goats: The Mandibles from Asvan Kale," *Anatolian Studies* 23, 1973, 281–303, and 1985, 228–9, who warns (personal communication) that particular circumstances and needs vary so greatly that "mean age at death" is not a very useful concept; Sloan and Duncan 1978, 65.

¹¹ G. Daux, "Le calendrier de Thorikos au Musée J. Paul Getty," *L'AntCl* 52, 1983, 150–74 and "Sacrifices à Thorikos," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12, 1984, 145–52, but from autopsy I date the inscription to the 30s or 20s of the fifth century, not the early fourth. On the demes and religion, in addition to Mikalson 1977, see R. G. Osborne, *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attica*, Cambridge 1985, and D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica, 508/7 – ca. 250 BC: A Political and Social Study*, Princeton 1986.

¹² See Payne 1985.

references in publications to layers of ash and to bones, few analyses have been made and only preliminary reports have appeared for most of those that are now being undertaken. Furthermore, as with a *lex sacra* for an individual cult, even the most informative report from a single sanctuary cannot by itself show the relative importance of the slaughter to which the bones testify. I summarize what is most useful for our purposes, omitting details primarily of interest for the study of ritual.

Cabirion, near Thebes in Boeotia, Classical to Roman (the latter mostly ca. AD 50 to 150). Minimum number of individuals: cattle 25, sheep/goat 125, pig 7. By period, the number of identifiable bones, excluding *astragali* (knuckle-bones, see [note 21](#)), were:

Classical:	cattle 43, sheep/goat 247, pig 17.
Hellenistic:	cattle 121, sheep/goat 504, pig 12.
Hellenistic–Roman:	cattle 25, sheep/goat 153, pig 1.
Roman:	cattle 285, sheep/goat 1,136, pig 15.
After AD 350:	cattle 4, sheep/goat 17.
Overall,	cattle 15–20%, sheep/goats 75–80%.

Among sheep and goats there was a preference for juveniles and subadults over either infants or adults, except in the Hellenistic period when the distribution is somewhat more even. Infant and juvenile animals as opposed to subadults and adults, except for the poorly represented classical period, constitute 1/3–2/3 of the total.

Sex is not listed. Aside from a possible disinclination to offer pigs there seems no preference for a species in this cult. The actual weight of cattle bones exceeds that of sheep/goat bones, 14.475 kg to 13.800 (among which identifiable goat bones weigh 2.27 kg, sheep 1.69 kg), an indication of their relative contribution despite the lesser number of individuals.¹³

Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos, late fifth century BC to second century AD (in an earlier phase, ca. 700 BC, the site was not certainly a sanctuary). In the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman phases the percentages of pig bones (not minimum number of individuals) were 91, 94 and 91.8, respectively, while sheep/goat were 6.0, 4.7 and 5.2. Other bones were of insignificant number. Pig was a common victim for Demeter.¹⁴ By contrast the Late Geometric phase had only 16.7 pig to 54 sheep/goat and 16.7 cattle, and Minoan levels under the sanctuary and Minoan–Roman deposits elsewhere in Knossos showed a similar distribution: pig 29.8 and 24, sheep/goat

¹³ See Boessneck 1973.

¹⁴ See R. S. Stroud, “The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth Preliminary Report I: 1961–1962,” *Hesperia* 34, 1965, 22; Kadletz 1976, 126–31.

62.1 and 57, cattle 6.3 and 15. Information on age, sex and parts found has not been published.¹⁵

Artemisium at Ephesus, seventh to fourth century BC Minimum number of individuals represented: cattle 8, sheep 6, goat 39, pig 6. The cattle are described as subadult. Few goats were younger than nine months and most were at least a year old, as was also the case with sheep. The pigs were juvenile. As for sex, where identification was possible, cattle were both male and female, sheep female and of the goats there was one buck and seven does.¹⁶ A large collection of goat horn cores (both left and right) are explained as coming from an altar composed of horns, as known at Delos (from literature and inscriptions) and from excavation at Dreros, Kato Simi on Crete and Halieis.¹⁷ Goat was a common victim for Artemis.¹⁸

Kommos, Crete 1000 BC – AD 150. 21,000 bones, burnt and unburnt, the latter mostly from altars and hearths and consisting mostly of hindquarters of sheep or goats. One altar (U of Temple B2–3) had cattle only, and all parts of the animal. Pig bones were found mostly in Temple C and were rarely burnt.¹⁹ The full publication of this material by Joseph Shaw, the excavator, and David Reese, who is studying the bones, will be exceptionally valuable because more than one ritual and a long stretch of time are represented at the site.²⁰

Altar of Aphrodite Urania, Agora of Athens, fifth to fourth century BC. Over 95% of the faunal remains were burnt. The great majority of the bones are sheep/goat (at least 79 individuals), not older than three years and 77.2% under three to six months old. No burnt cattle but some pig and fish bone have been identified.²¹

¹⁵ See M. R. Jarman, "Preliminary Report on the Animal Bones," in J. N. Coldstream, *Knossos: The Sanctuary of Demeter*, BSA Suppl. 8, 1973, 177–9.

¹⁶ Wolff 1978.

¹⁷ Dreros: S. Marinatos, "Le temple géométrique de Dreros," *BCH* 60, 1936, 214–85; Kato Simi: Lebessi, personal communication; Halieis: see [note 23](#) below.

¹⁸ Kadletz 1976, 87–96.

¹⁹ D. S. Reese, "Faunal Remains from the Kommos Temples" (abstract), *AJA* 88, 1984, 257.

²⁰ D. S. Reese, "The Minoan Fauna," in J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw, eds., *Kommos I, The Kommos Region and Houses of the Minoan Town, Part 1, The Kommos Region, Ecology, and the Minoan Industries*, Princeton 1995, 163–291.

²¹ Reese 1989 supersedes G. Foster, "The Bones from the Altar West of the Painted Stoa," *Hesperia* 53, 1984, 73–82, and T. L. Shear, "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1980–1982," *Hesperia* 53, 1984, 1–57. In particular, earlier identification of the remains of doves, thought to be appropriate to Aphrodite, has now to be abandoned. The initial study also drew conclusions from *astragali* found in the deposit. A distinction needs to be made between *astragali* (the knuckle-bones of ruminants) and other bones found in sanctuaries. While it is probable that they originally came from sacrificed animals, the fact that they were used, whether worked or unmodified, for gaming and divination, and that they sometimes differ in species from the preponderance of bones at a site (e.g., the Artemisium of Ephesus, Wolff 1978), means that

Temple of Apollo at Halieis, Argolid, fifth century BC (but with possible earlier accumulation). In the middle room of the Early Archaic temple, entered from a door in the side of the building, 41 goat horn cores, from at least 23 individuals aged two years or older, may have constituted an interior altar of horns, as at Dreros on Crete.²² From the middle and back rooms of the temple were infantile (one to two months old) sheep/goat tibiae, metatarsals and pelves from a minimum of 12 individuals. The bones are primarily from the right side (10:1, 9:2, 12:2). The tibiae of very young pigs are also represented (at least 49). The bones do not seem to have been burnt but light burning cannot be detected because of the effect of long immersion in the sea (the temple became inundated early in the first millennium of this era). The bones, other than the horn cores, appear to have been the remains of priests' perquisites, whereas the horn cores came from sacrifices of larger animals (perhaps carried out on the altar in front of the temple which may also have had a core of horns). The absence of bones from larger animals in the middle and back rooms may be an indication of the relative rarity of adult animals in sacrifice since there is no reason to suppose the priests would forego their usual perquisites. (Alternatively, the more substantial *gera* may have been taken home for family use or for sale.²³)

Cattle

Cattle were the major sacrificial animals of antiquity and were the predominant subjects of the typical sacrifices depicted in myth and in art.

they cannot be assumed to belong to the same sacrificial assemblage as the bones of other domestic animals. For a brief review of the subject with bibliography, see D. S. Reese, "The Kition Astragali," Appendix VIII (C) in V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kition* V, 2, 1985 382–91; the largest body of material comes from the Korykian Cave near Delphi: P. Amandry, "Os et coquilles," *L'Antre Corycien* II, *BCH* Suppl. IX, 1984, 347–80. Note that in addition to sanctuaries and graves, they were found in the Dark Age II settlement at Nichoria in Messenia where they constituted 20% of all bones, W. A. McDonald, W. D. E. Coulson, and J. Rosser, *Excavations at Nichoria in Southwest Greece*, vol. 3, *Dark Age and Byzantine Occupation*, Minneapolis 1983, 26.

²² Marinatos 1936.

²³ In the back of the front room, a treasury area, were found 71 *astragali*, several of which were burnt. Presumably they were offerings. At least five were of sheep and three of cattle. About half had been worked in some fashion. It is not necessary that the cattle from which three of the *astragali* derive were slaughtered at this sanctuary. In any case, the scarcity of cattle bones is not contradicted. Information on the bones from John Watson, personal communication. For the temple, see M. H. Jameson, "Excavations at Halieis (Porto Cheli) 1973," *ArchDelt*, *Chronika* 29, 1973–74, 261–8; "A Treasury of Athena in the Argolid – IG iv, 554," in D. W. Bradeen and M. F. McGregor, eds., *Phoros: Tribute to B. D. Meritt*, Locust Valley, NY 1974, 67–75; and "The Excavation of a Drowned Greek Temple," *Scientific American* 231, 1974, 110–19.

Fifth-century Athens required symbolic acknowledgement of her position from her colonies and members of the Delian league by the contribution of a sacrificial cow to the Panathenaea (*IG* i³ 34, 42 = *ML* 46; *IG* i³ 46, 11 = *ML* 49; *IG* i³ 71, 57 = *ML* 69). For the heroic world they were a unit of value and a store of wealth and the Homeric heroes are constantly shown sacrificing and eating cattle. The proportion of cattle to other animals in Dark Age settlements is likely to have been higher than in either of the relatively more populous periods that preceded and followed. “Animals, domestic or not, are most plentiful precisely in countries still relatively untenanted by man.”²⁴ At Dark Age Nichoria it has been estimated that they constituted 63% by weight of the protein in the diet, compared to 40% average for all other periods (Middle Helladic, Late Helladic and Byzantine). The mean age at slaughter drops from 10 to 5.5 years, an indication of an economy more concerned with meat than milk production.²⁵ The number of cattle is a function of the amount of good land for pasture available near the settlement site at a time of low population pressure.

The relative scarcity of cattle in the Greek landscape today may lead one to underestimate the importance of cattle in the past, especially in comparatively underpopulated periods. In the southern Argolid ca. AD 1700 there were some 700 cattle for a population of about 2,000. It is evident that this notably arid environment was capable of keeping a large number of cattle per person, in addition to 17 times as many sheep and goats. Two regimes can be detected – the maintenance of plow- and draft-animals in the low-land villages near the coast, and the breeding of animals, probably for both work and meat, in inland and upland areas. By 1911 cattle had declined to 512, whereas sheep and goats had increased by almost half.²⁶

But for all the traditional importance of cattle as symbol and their desirability as a source of meat, their relative numbers drop as the human population increases, although their value for work in the fields, for manure and for hauling rises. After the Dark Age most sacrifices in most parts of Greece were not of cattle. The term *hiereion*, “sacrificial victim,” when used without further specification, refers to sheep (e.g., *LSCG* 88 = *SIG*³ 1039) an indication that they were the most common victim.

²⁴ F. Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life 1400–1800*, tr. M. Kochan, New York 1973, 133.

²⁵ Sloan and Duncan 1978, 64–6.

²⁶ Detailed information on the southern Argolid in this period comes from the *catastico particolare* compiled for the Venetian authorities in the Peloponnese ca. 1700 AD, knowledge of whose contents I owe to the generosity of Peter Topping. Cf. P. Topping, “Premodern Peloponnesus: The Land and the People under Venetian Rule (1685–1715),” in Dimen and Friedl 1976, 92–108.

Table A *Minimum number of animals sacrificed in any one year*

	cattle	rams	wethers	ewes	lambs	bucks	does	kids	pigs	piglets	total
Marathon	6	1	9–12	9–12	—	1	—	—	2 pr. sows alt. yrs.	7–9	35–43
all sheep: 19–25											
Thoricus	2	1	16	9	3m/1f	2	2	2m	—	2m/3f	42
all sheep: 29			all goats: 6								
Erchia	—	1	19	10	1m/3f	5	6	1m	—	10	56
all sheep: 34			all goats: 12								

Notes: No restorations are included. Cattle and piglets are not usually identified by sex unless, for cattle, a pregnant victim or a bull is required; prices do not provide a clue. There was a general tendency to offer male victims to males and females to females but it was not a firm rule (cf. Paus. 9.19.7). Besides the solitary goat in the Marathon calendar there are five detectable in the fragmentary list of sacrifices made by the whole Tetrapolis (col. A of *LSCG* 20). The Thoricus calendar includes a *trittoa* but the three animals composing that sacrifice varied.

The local Attic *leges sacrae* suggest what was acceptable for cult and normal for consumption when the wealth of the Athenian state was not available to pay for victims. The demes, organizations with modest resources, offered few cattle compared to sheep, goats and piglets (Table A). At Erchia no cattle at all were sacrificed. At Marathon at least six cattle were killed each year, compared to 29–37 other victims (a ratio of 1 : 5–6), but the cattle cost no less than 600 drachmae compared to less than 400 for the other victims (the range comes from the fact that there was variation in the victims offered in alternate years). Thoricus offered two oxen compared to 35 sheep and goats and five pigs. The *genos* of the Salaminioi, which could afford five 40-drachmae pigs, offered only one ox in the course of its year (*LSS* 19).²⁷ In no case is it evident that cattle were ritually required although the sex and the pregnancy of a victim could be significant. For economy's sake a large sacrifice might be offered only once every other year. Thus at Marathon Athena Hellotis received a cow, three ewes and a piglet one year, but only a single ewe the next year, in which (Demeter) Eleusinia received a cow. Cattle were larger sacrifices, more pleasing to the gods and more rewarding to men. The choice between cattle and sheep (goats have a more restricted function) was essentially a matter of cost and of availability.

The evidence of the bones does not contradict that of the Attic calendars, whose information has been summarized above. At the Theban Cabirion the ratio of cattle to all other domesticated animals is 1 : 4–5 for all periods,

²⁷ W. S. Ferguson, "The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion," *Hesperia* 7, 1938, 1–68.

1 : 6 for the classical; bronze and lead figurines of cattle are conspicuous at the sanctuary.²⁸ At the Ephesian Artemisium cattle are 1 : 6.5 when compared to all other animals (minimum number of individuals).²⁹ At Halieis and the Athenian Altar of Aphrodite Ourania traces of cattle are respectively, negligible and absent. Probably at the Artemision and certainly at the sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos,³⁰ the figures are skewed by the cultic preference for certain victims. But the overall effect of many cults with other preferred victims is to free the worshippers from having, regularly, to make this large and costly offering.³¹

If, however, the contribution of cattle in weight (and therefore protein) is considered, the disproportion between them and all other victims is considerably reduced. The following have been proposed for the live weight and the usable meat (approximately one half) of adult animals at Dark Age Nichoria: cattle 200/100 kg, sheep 40/20 kg, goat 60/30 kg, pig 100/50 kg.³² The relative weights rather than the precise figures are significant here. If for Marathon we suppose all animals are full-grown except for the piglets, for whom a weight of 3 kg is used (there seems to have been a rough equivalence of 1 drachma per kg of meat of the live animal) the meat contributed by cattle comes to 600 kg, that of the maximum number of all other animals to 595 kg (6 cattle at 100 kg and 25 sheep at 20 kg, 1 goat at 30 kg, 1 pig at 50 kg and 5 piglets at 3 kg). The fact remains that Marathon, with no lambs or kids, in contrast to Erchia with no cattle, is tilted towards the pattern of the more extravagant state cults while Erchia may represent better the situation in most smaller communities. Local conditions are relevant. There was good pasturage for cattle in the plain (Paus. 1.32.7),³³ and it was the Marathonian bull that Theseus captured and brought to the Acropolis to sacrifice, a story commemorated by the deme of Marathon with a dedication (Paus. 1.27.10).

The ratio of cattle to sheep or goats would have varied from region to region, depending on the local environment and on both local and more

²⁸ Boessneck 1973; P. Roesch, "Les taureaux de bronze du Cabirion de Thèbes et l'écriture archaïque béotienne," *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Boiotian Antiquities*, 1985, 135–51.

²⁹ Wolff 1978. ³⁰ Jarman 1973.

³¹ S. Payne (personal communication) notes that cattle at the Cabirion were probably twice or even four times as scarce as suggested by the raw count, which is affected by indiscriminate inclusion of ribs etc. Only at Altar U in temple B2–3 at Kommos are all other victims excluded (Reese 1984), but the presence of *all* the bones of the victims suggests to me that it was not the site of normal sacrifice and that the rites performed were, therefore, probably specialized in function and limited in frequency.

³² Sloan and Duncan 1978, 76.

³³ A point I owe to Jens Skydsgaard; cf. J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, vol. 2, New York 1965, 432.

Table B *Prices of victims in drachmae*

	Marathon	Erchia	Athens (State Calendar) ¹
ox or cow <i>bous</i>	90 ²	—	—
calf, <i>bous leipognomon</i> ³	—	—	25
pregnant pig <i>hus kuousa</i>	20	—	—
ram <i>krios</i>	12	10(?)	17
pregnant ewe <i>ois kuousa</i>	16	10	—
buck <i>tragos</i>	15	—	—
wether <i>ois</i>	12	12	15
ewe <i>ois</i>	11	10	12
goat, male <i>aix</i>	—	12	—
doe <i>aix</i>	—	10	—
lambs <i>arnes, amnai</i>	—	7	4 <i>ois leipognomon</i>
kid <i>eriphos propt.</i> ⁴	—	5	—
suckling pig <i>choiros</i>	3	3	3

¹ From *LSS* 10, the largest of a number of fragments of the revision in the late fifth and early fourth century BC of the Athenian state calendar of sacrifices; some other fragments are *LSS* 9 and *LSCG* 17. Thoricus did not regularly list prices, aside from two oxen between 40 and 50 drachmae.

² One entry for Marathon, *bous* apparently followed by 150, is of uncertain significance.

³ On the meaning of this term, see H. Hansen, “The Meaning of *λειπογνώμων*,” *GRBS* 14, 1973, 325–32 who argues that it refers to an animal in the first few weeks of life.

⁴ On the abbreviation, presumably for *proptorthios*, referring to the age of the kid, see G. Daux, “La grande démarchie: un nouveau calendrier sacrificiel d’Erchia,” *BCH* 87, 1963, 626–7.

distant demand. Orchomenus granted grazing rights to a man of Elateia in Phocis for 220 cattle or horses and 1,000 sheep or goats (*IG* vii, 3171; *SEG* XXVII.63, third century BC). In the fourth century BC Jason of Pherae in Thessaly made a levy for a festival of Apollo of 1,000 oxen and over 10,000 sheep, goats and pigs (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.29). This passage shows what was regarded as suitable proportions for sacrifice and also what the region could supply.

There is little detail available on the age and sex of cattle slaughtered. No calves are specified in the deme calendars. The state calendar of sacrifices (Table B) included examples of a new-born (?) *leipognomon*, costing 25 drachmae. The cattle bones at the Ephesian Artemisium are described as subadult (between 1 and 3 years old?). There may have been local variations in how soon the term *teleios*, “full grown animal”, could be applied. On Keos it seems to be replaced by a phrase referring to the loss of all milk teeth, i.e.,

aged 3–4 years (*ois* or *bous beblekos*, *LSCG* 98, 7).³⁴ In view of the modest number of cattle sacrificed (with the exceptions to be discussed below) and the importance of cattle for work, it is safe to say that the strategy generally adopted in the Classical and Hellenistic periods was basically the first of the three outlined above, to produce work animals with a small surplus for slaughter. (“Male cattle are more suitable for sacrifice and work than females, but of other stock the female is more valued,” Paus 7.22.11.) There was usually no concern with milk for human use.³⁵ However, the reluctance to sacrifice work animals meant that most of the adults sacrificed had been kept for this purpose. The preference for juveniles and subadults seen in the animal bones also points to modification of the first strategy in the direction of meat production, the third strategy.

Where extraordinary amounts of money were available for ritual and social use, a different pattern can be seen. Classical Athens is the most obvious example but there are indications of similar developments at Syracuse and, in the Hellenistic period, wherever rulers built great altars or wealthy benefactors sacrificed for the whole community. In Athens the democracy, through the mechanism of the state, provided the many with the style of life of the few (cf. Xen. [*Ath. Pol.*] 2.9). Cattle were the most numerous victims of the great public sacrifices of the Athenian democracy, which the exceptionally wealthy Athenian state could afford to provide. In the year 410/409, while Athens was still at war with the Peloponnesians, 5,114 drachmae, say a day’s wages for 5,114 men, was spent on 100 cows for the Great (four-yearly) Panathenaea (*IG* i³ 375, 7 = *ML* 84). The meat was shared out among the demesmen participating in the Great Panathenaea (*IG* ii² 334) and public distribution was the rule. For the year 334/3 the income recorded for the sale of some, not all, the ox-hides from state sacrifices amounted to over 10,000 drachmae (*IG* ii² 1496 = *SIG*³ 1029 – receipts for only seven months are preserved, amounting to 5,099 drachmae and 4 obols. See Appendix on the value of hides and the number of cattle involved). Between 1,400 and 1,700 hides per year, I would estimate, were sold by these officials alone. Clearly cattle were important for the Athenian democracy.

Athens undoubtedly had a great many working oxen – plowing the fields, hauling stone from local quarries and silver from local mines and imported timber and other heavy items from the harbors (but even so 1,000 yoke had to be imported in 329 BC for a large building project, *IG* ii² 351,

³⁴ Hansen, 1973, 329–30.

³⁵ Cf. K. D. White, *Roman Farming*, London 1970, 277, citing Plin. *HN* 25.94, for the conspicuous exception of Arcadia.

18–19). As working animals they themselves were not regarded as suitable for sacrifice. Furthermore, Attica, aside from Marathon, did not have well-watered pastures for cattle.³⁶ We do not hear of herds of cattle. It may be significant that when Thucydides speaks of the effects of the Peloponnesian War on livestock (being sent to Euboea and the islands, 2.14, or lost to the enemy, 7.27.5), his words are *probata kai hupozugia* (sheep and draft animals) and he does not mention *boskemata* (animals reared for meat), such as Meidias procured for himself in Euboea (Dem. 21.167).³⁷ The greater suitability of Attica for grazing than for agriculture (Plut. *Sol.* 23.4, given as explanation of the bounty on wolves) need refer only to sheep and goats.

Small-scale, intensive mixed agriculture, important in areas of high population, such as classical Attica, permitted a certain amount of livestock, more significant *in toto* than on any one property.³⁸ In the sale of confiscated property in the late fifth century cattle are not conspicuous. On one property there were two work oxen, another two *boes* without qualification, and then four with calves, followed by 84 sheep and 117 goats, both herds with their young in addition.³⁹ The maintenance and breeding of working stock would have permitted a modest off-take of younger animals for sacrifice; the consumption of old work animals, however inappropriate for public ritual, would have provided an addition to the diet. In Greece in the twentieth century, even in areas where cattle have been kept primarily for work, as on the island of Carpathos (personal observations), the vowing of

³⁶ Despite the observation of the ability of cattle to tolerate a poorer quality diet than sheep or goats (P. Halstead, “Counting Sheep in Neolithic and Bronze Age Greece,” in I. Hodder, G. Isaak, and N. Hammond, eds., *Patterns of the Past: Studies in Honour of David Clarke*, Cambridge 1981, 323), historically there has been a preference for grazing them on meadows. P. A. Decasos, *Die Landwirtschaft im heutigen Griechenland*, Diss. Leipzig 1904, 124, noted that Elis, Acarnania and Thessaly, with tall summer grass, raise more cattle than most of Greece. Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace (with buffalo) had the most in 1961, while they had almost vanished from the Eastern Peloponnesus (B. Kayser and B. Thompson, *Economic and Social Atlas of Greece*, Athens 1964, 322). In antiquity Arcadians exceptionally could get milk to drink from their cows (Plin. *HN* 25.94). It may be that meadows are necessary for profitable beef and milk cattle while lean working animals can be kept well enough in more arid environments, as the figures from the southern Argolid show. Although Decasos regarded beef production as unprofitable in Greece, his figures for 1893 show 60,449 beef to 13,224 working cattle (Decasos 1904, 126).

³⁷ But Antiphanes II.84 Kock, ap. Athen. I.43C, lists bread, figs, *boskemata*, wool, myrtle berries, thyme, wheat and water as products of Attica. The juxtaposition with wool may suggest the animals are sheep.

³⁸ Cf. Hodkinson 1988, without specific reference to cattle.

³⁹ W. K. Pritchett, “The Attic Stelai, Part I,” *Hesperia* 22, 1953, 272, VI.68–73, and “The Attic Stelai, Part II,” *Hesperia* 25, 1956, 255–60. Another property had a pig sty and a cow barn: Pritchett 1953, 265, V.39–40.

an ox or cow to a saint for a festival is widely attested.⁴⁰ Modest sacrifice, as publicly at Marathon and Thoricus, and personally by more prosperous farmers, could have been made from local cattle. However, in premodern conditions no herds increase rapidly, and one suspects that the reproduction rate of working cows is less than that of grazing herds.⁴¹ In Attica the local fodder would have been needed for the working and breeding animals but if grain could be imported for human consumption fodder could also be obtained, despite the expense, for fattening the cattle the population would consume.⁴²

It is, however, the scale of Athenian state expenditure that argues for access to herd animals. The model of the southern Argolid, in the much more sparsely populated years around AD 1700, suggests that upland and borderland pastures were used as reserves for cattle, even if less desirable than lowland meadows. Evidence for Attica is lacking but the Skourta plain, shared by Boeotians and Athenians (Thuc. 5.42.1), would have been suitable. It has long been supposed that Boeotia and Euboea, with their revealing names, and Megara and the Peloponnesus were the chief sources of Athenian cattle, and it is at least a reasonable inference.⁴³ Large herds of up to 220 cattle or horses could be accommodated at Orchomenus with its meadows around Lake Copais (*IG* vii 3171; I take the two categories permitted in that inscription, large and small stock, to show that different grazing for each was available).

In the classical period Athens may have been one of the few places where local supplies of cattle were inadequate. The Panhellenic centers, Delphi, Olympia and Epidaurus, are situated in regions with relatively large areas

⁴⁰ S. Georgoudi, "L'égorgement sanctifié en Grèce moderne," in M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, eds., *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grecque*, Paris 1979, 271–307.

⁴¹ Cf. Dahl and Hjort 1976, 71–5.

⁴² This was the situation around Athens in the twentieth century. The density of cattle according to the 1961 census (National Statistical Service of Greece, 1966, I, Table 3.1) in the territory of ancient Attica (the area of the capital together with Attica outside of the capital but without the Megarid and non-adjacent *eparchies*) was 0.23 head per hectare, in the Megarid 0.42, while in Boeotia and southern Euboea combined it was only 0.12. This reflects the demand for cow's milk and beef in the urban area of the capital and is made possible by fodder brought in from outside the region.

⁴³ A. Böckh, *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, 3rd edn, Berlin 1896, I:94; Pritchett 1956, 255; W. Richter, *Die Landwirtschaft in homerischen Zeitalter*, *Archaeologia Homerica*, II.H, Göttingen 1968, 41. Dicaeopolis restores conditions that existed before the war so that he can do business in the market with Boeotians, Peloponnesians and Megarians, one of whom is eager to sell his daughters as pigs (Ar. *Ach.* 719–22, 764–73). One could wish for more solid evidence. Curiously the traveler Heraclides in the Hellenistic period comments on the field, garden and orchard crops of Attica and Boeotia but makes no mention of animals in either region. See F. Pfister, "Die Reisebilder des Herakleides," *SitzWien* 227, 1951, 2.

of grazing and thinner populations, and the need for large numbers of sacrificial animals would have come at longer intervals than in Athens which was said, no doubt in exaggeration, to have had twice as many festivals as other states (Xen. [*Ath. Pol.*] 3.9). Only studies of the particular regional environments can suggest what regimes were used for the rearing of cattle. The driving of cattle over long distances to seasonal pastures is uneconomical, and may not have been easy in the fragmented political landscape of classical Greece, but is practiced when the value of cattle is high.⁴⁴ It is hinted at in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* where the infant god performs marvelous feats of cattle-driving in the course of cattle-rustling and plans to graze his herds on both mountain and plain (*Hymn Hom. Merc.* 491–2).

Pigs

After cattle the next most expensive full-grown animals were pigs. Pregnant sows (probably only to agricultural goddesses, e.g. at Marathon, *LSCG* 20, A 43, B 48–9, costing 20 drachmae) and other adult pigs (notably five for the Attic *genos* of the Salaminioi, at 40 drachmae each, *LSS* 19, 87ff.) are prescribed in cult inscriptions (cf. the Roman *fordicidia*, bones of whose victims have been found).⁴⁵ But the great majority of pig sacrifices are of young animals costing usually 3 drachmae in classical Athens. The Erchia calendar lists 10 piglets out of 56 victims, none of which are full-grown pigs. The piglets were used primarily (1) as minor offerings to figures who needed to be recognized in a larger complex of sacrifices, as at Erchia (*LSCG* 18), for the minor figure Kourotrophos at a festival of Artemis in the first month of the Attic year; (2) as the preferred victim for Demeter,⁴⁶ and (3) as victims for purification, e.g., at the opening of the Athenian assembly.⁴⁷

While a supply of piglets was important for ritual, they offered little in the way of food, and the purification and some at least of the Demeter rites in which they were commonly used did not involve their consumption. However, a considerable number of infant pig bones were found in the central room of the Temple of Apollo at Halieis, probably for the meals of priests, though possibly for purification or divination. There was sometimes

⁴⁴ See J. Cherry, “Pastoralism and the Role of Animals in the Pre- and Protohistoric Economies of the Aegean,” in C. R. Whittaker, ed., *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity*, *CPhS Suppl.* 14, 1988, 6–34 and cf. White 1970, 280.

⁴⁵ Ampolo 1980, 36, n. 116. ⁴⁶ Jarman 1973.

⁴⁷ R. Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford 1983, 30, 283.

a positive preference for young animals: on Keos, if a pig is offered it should be less than 18 months old (*LSCG* 98, 8–9), but for a feast at Lindos on Rhodes a full-grown male is specified (*LSCG* 140). Aristotle mentions the frequent inability of sows to nurse all of a litter (*Hist. an.* 573A). The removal of a few newborn piglets from the usual litter of seven or eight would not affect the ultimate size of the herd. In cost, adult victims at 20–40 drachmae in fourth century Attica were between sheep and goats (10–15 drachmae) and cattle (mostly 50–90 drachmae). Aside from the cult of Demeter, Ge and their like, it is not clear that there were positive ritual reasons for the use of adult pigs. In some cults pigs were forbidden.⁴⁸ Their absence at Erchia has to do with the modesty of that whole calendar and its lack of a Demeter festival, while at Marathon they appear only for Demeter. Consequently the specification of five (only one of which is for Demeter) by the Salaminioi (*LSS* 19) at a cost of 200 drachmae out of a budget of a little over 500 suggests that the *genos* had access to good animals at that price.

The value of pigs, unlike that of other potential sacrificial victims, is solely for food, especially as a source of fat; one should not assume that olive oil was permanently and easily available.⁴⁹ Their rearing has clearly had a long history. They are listed on Mycenaean palace tablets, in herds and as smaller numbers of fattened animals.⁵⁰ The swineherd Eumaeus is an important character in the *Odyssey*. In the Homeric poems pigs are grazed extensively (herds of pigs at *Il.* 11.670–84, *Od.* 14.96–104) and Eumaeus and his helpers live at a distance from the town. In areas with oak trees they feed seasonally on acorns and may be herded extensively.⁵¹ Their rooting, digging habits may be useful on fallow land,⁵² but can be dangerous to more intensive agriculture if not closely controlled. The damage done by wild boars to “the works of men” reaches mythical proportions (e.g., *Il.* 9.538–42, *Hdt.* 1.36). But pigs are potentially the best suited of all sacrificial victims to intensive rearing since they thrive on household and garden waste and are easily kept penned. Aristotle mentions supplementary feeding of barley to rutting boars and to sows after they have littered (*Hist. an.* 573 B). The figures for pigs ca. 1700 AD in the southern Argolid suggest that, except in the most pastoral, upland village, where extensive herding is likely, they were kept, in small numbers (less than one per family), close to the fields and gardens (see [note 26](#)). Such a regime would have suited the needs of the more densely settled classical Attica. But, as with all food for that exceptionally

⁴⁸ Cf. Kadletz 1976, 23–4, Aphrodite, and *LSCG* 114 and 126, *LSS* 73; but cf. Reese 1989, 63–70.

⁴⁹ Cf. M. Sivinon, “The Frontier between Two Cultural Areas,” in Dimen and Friedl 1976, 43–58.

⁵⁰ M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 2nd edn, Cambridge 1973, 132.

⁵¹ Cf. Decasos 1904, 129. ⁵² Halstead 1981, 323.

large concentration of population, the resources of neighboring, more rural areas were also drawn upon (cf. Ar. *Ach.* 764–73; the neighboring *poleis* are the suburbs of the Athenians, Heraclides 1.2 Pfister).⁵³

In sum, pigs were used in only a limited way for public sacrifice and adult animals (other than pregnant victims) may have been sacrificed mostly by private groups. But in areas of more dense population they seem to have been reared only in moderate numbers. The classical farm without the more abundant rootcrops and wastes of today may not have been as well adapted to their intensive rearing. Plato (*Resp.* II, 373C) associates them with comfortable living rather than with subsistence or piety. It is the luxurious city for which swineherds are necessary, as is also the rearing of all sorts of animals.

Sheep and goats

At every turn we have seen that in the classical period, even in Attica away from the state's largesse, the predominant victims were sheep and goats, the latter being more restricted in ritual (e.g., *LSS* 73 and 74, Thasos; Paus. 2.26.9, Epidaurus; sheep are prohibited for Apollo and the Nymphs on Thasos, *LSCG* 114). Apollo, Artemis, and Dionysus particularly favored goats.⁵⁴ The inscriptions can be quite specific about the kinds of victim to be offered. Much of this has to do with the expressive character of the victim in the symbolic system, as the occasional requirement of pregnancy or potency shows. But, to some degree, considerations of what animals were available at particular times of the year will have had a bearing.

Largely from the work of ethnographers on both transhumant and sedentary pastoralists in Greece a picture of varied and flexible strategies has emerged in recent years.⁵⁵ Climate and topography set the basic

⁵³ At Nichoria pigs contributed the most protein (30%) after cattle and were the largest number of individuals after sheep. Their proportions were greatest, 35%, in the populous periods of the Late Helladic (through LHIIIA2) and then dropped to 23%. At all times 95% were killed before they were 3 years old, 53% between 1 and 2 years, and 25% at less than 1. Most of the smallest animals were cooked whole (Sloan and Duncan 1978, 67–8). Ritual may have required only their blood. Their peak numbers in the Late Helladic suggests intensive rearing and/or the availability of hands to watch over them in the countryside. When space was available for extensive herding in the Dark Age more attention appears to have been given to cattle.

⁵⁴ Richter 1972, 426–7.

⁵⁵ D. Loukopoulos, *Ποιμηνικά της Ρουμέλης*, Athens 1930; J. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community*, Oxford 1964; G. B. Kavadias, *Pasteurs-nomades méditerranéens: Les Saracatsans de Grèce*, Paris 1965; Koster and Koster 1976; Koster 1977.

conditions in which the keeping of sheep and goats takes place but greater or lesser dependence on the results of agriculture can modify the patterns of adaptation to natural conditions. An extensive system makes more use of natural pastures and less of the incidental or intentional products of agriculture (e.g., weeds in an orchard or fields planted in legumes for grazing). An intensive system involves more labor and higher yields per animal. The symbiosis of pastoralism and agriculture is characteristic of all lowland areas of Greece, though not limited to them, in all historical periods, but it takes various forms, and the relative importance of the products of each does not remain fixed.

As a particular example of the combination of practices to achieve more than one goal, let us consider the pattern that has prevailed in Greece in recent times. Herding has been geared to a regime in which the production of milk, converted primarily into cheese, is combined with the sale of animals for meat, primarily young males born in the winter and spring, and of older animals no longer useful for breeding, milking or wool. The availability of natural pasture has established a cycle of breeding in the summer and birth in the winter and the spring – not, to be sure, universal, so that there are in fact births at other times. The main festivals of the church, at Christmas and Easter, and the demand for meat at Carnival, suit the removal of young animals over and above those needed to maintain or, if desired, to increase the flock in winter and spring. Unwanted adult animals are usually culled from the flock in the summer but when the shortage of summer pastures was more severe before the advent of plentiful supplementary feed and when the movement of flocks to higher pastures was more difficult, it is likely that the extra animals were slaughtered before the full strain of summer was felt. Today a settled herder's flock in a good year may double in size with the birth of the new lambs and kids because most of the animals are females, kept for milk and breeding, rather than the larger males with more meat and, in the case of sheep, better wool. However, it is only recently with the use of medicines, the elimination of wolves from most of Greece, supplementary feeds and field crops for fodder facilitated by increased irrigation that only a small percentage of the animals are lost each year. Earlier less than half of the new animals – and young females only with great reluctance – could be removed if the size of the herd was to be maintained.

In the deme calendars from Attica, Marathon offered no young sheep or goats, Thoricus six young animals out of 35 sheep or goats (1 : 6) and Erchia five young sheep or goats out of 36 (1 : 7).⁵⁶ These are all community festivals

⁵⁶ An incomplete calendar from Erythrae in Asia Minor, *LSAM* 26, second century BC, has 18 *teleia* (full-grown) to eight *galathena* (suckling), all sheep, to judge by the prices.

in which numbers of people participated and were fed and we should expect, therefore, more adult animals than in smaller group or family sacrifices. The male sheep, larger than the ewes, were probably castrated wethers since only a single ram is specified at Erchia and again at Marathon. The greater number of young sheep and goats at Erchia along with the absence of cattle seems to be an economy measure. Most private persons would have offered more sheep and goats than cattle and more small than large animals (cf. Hdt. 1.133.1). That the choice between older and younger animals was the main decision the private sacrificer faced is seen in a number of inscriptions where different fees are prescribed according to whether a *teleios* “full-grown” or a *galathēnos* “suckling” has been sacrificed, e.g., *LSCG* 45, 4–5.⁵⁷ Where cult officials took their shares from the animal sacrificed or a group expected to dine on the meat there was practical interest in the size of the animal and the quantity of meat available. Larger rather than more numerous animals tend to be prescribed in such situations.

Of adults Marathon sacrifices males and females in almost equal numbers, but at Erchia the ratio is 2 : 1 and at Thoricus only a little less than that. (For lambs and kids the numbers are too few for the ratios to be useful.) Cult requirements seem to permit a preference for slaughtering males at Erchia and Thoricus. For effective herd management today, with the emphasis on milk production and secondarily on meat, herdsmen cut out not only the majority of lambs and kids before they are a year old but also ewes and does past lactation (at six years) and rams and bucks from three or four to eight years (Harold Koster, personal communication). But from the calendars we do not know how the adult victims are distributed in age as between milk and wool animals past their prime and young adults raised for sacrifice, for whom the optimum age in terms of the amount of meat gained from the amount of feed consumed is between two and three years.⁵⁸

The archaeological evidence is mixed. At the Ephesian Artemisium the sheep and goats are largely female and older than a year but it is not clear how much older. At the Theban Cabirion juveniles and subadults predominate, but whereas most of the goats are young, the sheep are older, perhaps because of the value of wool production (no more precise description of ages is given).⁵⁹ At Halieis, inside the temple, most bones are infant sheep and goat tibiae, along with infant pig tibiae. Goats older than two years, however, furnished the horns that were found in the middle room, perhaps from

⁵⁷ Cf. P. Stengel, *Quaestiones Sacrificales*, Berlin 1879, 7–11; Ziehen 1939, 595–7.

⁵⁸ Payne 1973, 281, who warns (personal communication) that this optimum applies only to a fairly extensive system with no marked seasonal shortage; in modern Greece less than 1 year old is optimal.

⁵⁹ Boessneck 1973, 14.

animals sacrificed at the altar before the temple.⁶⁰ The youngest animals may be under-represented in the published evidence because of the fragility of their remains in general and inattention to a useful criterion for age.⁶¹ Overall, there are two main groups – infants and young adults – the former may represent the culls consistent with a milk strategy, the latter with one aimed at meat. The bones, insofar as they are relevant, do not disagree with the calendars and suggest that young adults (one to three years old) satisfied the inscriptions' specification *ois* or *aix* with or without the adjective *teleios*. The ratio of young to adult victims (1 : 6 at Erchia, 1 : 7 at Thoricos) does not suggest as heavy a rate of reproduction and of slaughter of the very young as might be expected. If many of the adults are in the young adult or subadult category, we would have a modification of a regime geared to milk and wool in the direction of meat production.⁶²

The notion of not weakening the herd by killing off replacement stock, primarily young females, is explicit in an ἄριστον given by the Atthidographers to explain why the priestess of Athena Polias does not sacrifice a ewe lamb (*amne*) or taste cheese (Androton *FGrH* 324 F 55 ap. Athen. IX 375B–C): “There was an old law for the sake of the reproduction of young not to slaughter a ewe which has not been shorn of wool and has not given birth.” In the version attributed to Philochoros (*FGrH* 328 F 169 ap. Athen. I. 9C–D) the prohibition is extended to all Athenians, which cannot be right since Athena on the local polis hill at Erchia received a ewe lamb, and an historical shortage is given as the cause of the concern. The combination of the prohibited victim with the priestess's avoidance of cheese (fresh cheese and Attic cheese but not foreign cheese, Strabo 9.1.11) shows that we have to do with a complex, symbolic expression. The explanation given is an indication of the fourth-century writers' interest in agriculture and husbandry (Androton was the author of a *Georgika*, *FGrH* 324 T 17) but if more than fragments of the Athenians' ritual and symbolic code had survived, we might be able to see the expression of an older and broader concern with the preservation of their resources. Pragmatism and hedonism are combined in a comic reference to “putting up” with the inferior (*phaula*)

⁶⁰ Most of the bones from the altar of Aphrodite in the Agora of Athens may also be from very young sheep/goats (Reese 1989). Dr. Giraud Foster kindly informed me that very young sheep and goats also predominate at the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion on Cyprus.

⁶¹ Payne 1985, 230.

⁶² Payne 1973, 302, notes the relatively high proportion of sheep and goats killed at Asvan Kale in Anatolia between the ages of 2 and 6 during the Hellenistic/Roman periods and very cautiously suggests a concentration on the production of high-grade wool. The pattern resembles what we seem to have in Classical Greece. Wool was certainly a concern for the Greeks, but perhaps Greek sacrificial practices had been adopted in Anatolia in these centuries.

meat of lambs and kids for the sake of the profits from the cheese and wool of full-grown animals (Antiphanes 1117 Kock, ap. Athen. IX 402D–E).

The demands of any one purchaser in a country district for between 50 and 60 animals in the course of a year, which were the needs of the three demes, will not by itself disclose the local pattern of herd management. But if, as seems likely, they represent the pattern of religious observances that extended throughout the community their implications for the pastoral calendar are worth examining.

Generally, the young animals are specified at times of the year when they would be plentiful.⁶³ At Erchia the young sheep and the kid are sacrificed in February, March, July, September and October, in all of which young animals would be easily available according to the cycle we can observe today. The periods of greatest sacrificial activity are February, May–July and September–October. In February (Gamelion), aside from two piglets, nine full-grown animals and one ewe lamb are sacrificed, and all but one of the adults are male. A season when all attention and food needed to be devoted to the nursing mothers and their young was a good time to slaughter extra males. In May–July, 11 adult males, two ewes and one doe and one male lamb were sacrificed. This is the best period for culling a flock before turning it on to the scarcer summer grazing. The lamb is for Zeus on the Heights (Epacrius) and is to be sacrificed and consumed on Mt. Hymettus – a fee paid, so to speak, for the mountain pastures the animals have begun to use by mid-June.⁶⁴

At Thoricus in south Attica sacrificial activity is concentrated between March and July with the peak coming in May, and five of the six young victims (other than pigs) are sacrificed between March and July, as are two pregnant ewes. These last may not be as wasteful as might first appear since they are killed before the onset of a period of poor grazing for flocks not moving to high country.⁶⁵ There is another spurt in October and November when the stubble in the lowlands has been used up and the new grass is yet

⁶³ The Attic calendar of the Classical period was capable of considerable divergence from the agricultural cycle to which much of the ritual calendar was at one time pegged, but I am assuming, perhaps rashly, that overall it did not distort radically the earlier sequences. On the relationship of the agricultural calendar to agricultural cults, see A. C. Brumfield, *The Attic Festivals of Demeter and their Relation to the Agricultural Year*, New York 1981. For simplicity I equate Hekatombaion, the first month of the Attic year, with August, rather than July/August.

⁶⁴ Perhaps Zeus Horius, who receives a piglet in January, oversees disputes that arise between demes over winter grazing in the lowlands.

⁶⁵ Harold Koster (to whom I owe much good advice, imperfectly reproduced in this paper) informs me that in the present day the early summer is an excellent time to cull even pregnant ewes since a late pregnancy with poorer grazing in prospect increases the likelihood of the ewe's falling sick.

to come. The first two months of the Attic year are lost for Marathon and there are adjustments between the deme and the Tetrapolis that obscure the picture. Spring is busy but with six cattle, two sows and no lambs or kids offered, this calendar has less bearing on local pastoralism.

On the basis of these Attic calendars it may be suggested that in most of Greece, without the Athenian state's resources to buy many animals for sacrifice, the sacrificial calendar was close to that of seasonal availability from the annual increase of young animals and the culling of older ones, and that in Attica as well as elsewhere the production of milk and wool was the prime goal of the owners of flocks of sheep or goats.

Milk production, chiefly in the form of cheese which is more easily preserved than meat, makes a far more effective contribution to the diet than killing animals for meat. Greek goats today "give more than six times as many calories in milk as in meat, and nearly three times as much protein."⁶⁶ We should not suppose the people engaged in the exhausting work of herding were not aware of the results of their labor, to the extent that they were free to make choices. Hired and slave herdsmen, of course, would pursue whatever policy the owners found profitable or socially desirable. The existence of the large urban population of Athens and the purchasing needs of the Athenian state are likely to have altered the regimes of what had been relatively self-contained communities, as has been the case in modern times.

Sources of sheep and goats

In Attica the demand for sheep and goats comes primarily from smaller groups such as the demes, *gene* and families. It is not evident that their needs could not have been satisfied by local Attic pastoralism, though no doubt sheep and goats, as well as pigs and, as we have supposed, cattle, were brought to market from neighboring areas. When the Athenians sought to fulfill their vow to Artemis to sacrifice a doe (she-goat) for every Persian slain at Marathon (6,400, Hdt. 6.117.1) not enough goats could be found and they settled on 500, which became the number from then on (Xen. *An.* 3.2.12).⁶⁷ Since over 6,000 does would have been needed in addition to whatever normal sacrificial obligations were in effect, the removal of that

⁶⁶ Payne 1985, 226.

⁶⁷ A detailed note in P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford 1981, 650. A variant (Schol. *Ar. Eq.* 660) that says the vow was originally for cows but changed to goats is unlikely to be correct since female goats were especially Artemis' animal.

many breeding animals in the autumn (Boedromion) and without planning if soon after the battle, could well have disrupted local herds with the small surpluses available for slaughter under pre-modern conditions. The story does not really reflect on the adequacy of the local goat supply.

There are few references in Greece proper to “sacred herds,” that is, animals belonging to a sanctuary.⁶⁸ At Tegea in Arcadia in the early fourth century there were rules at the sanctuary of Athena Alea for the pasturing of *hiera probata* (sacred sheep), evidently herded extensively and passing through the goddess’ land. They included larger and smaller stock (cattle as well as sheep or goats) while pigs are mentioned separately. These may have been herds belonging to a god (i.e., to a sanctuary) or herds designated at some point as reserved for a particular festival. The Phocians said that whatever *boskemata* they named as sacred to Artemis were free of disease and grew fatter than others they reared (Paus. 10.35.7). However, when Xenophon established a cult to Ephesian Artemis on his estate near Olympia, food produced and animals reared on the estate were to be used for the annual sacrifice, but at other times they were at the disposal of the lessee of the estate (*An.* 5.3.9–13). Unlike cattle and pigs, sheep and goats belonging to a sanctuary could produce income from milk, wool, hair and manure. But most victims did not come from sanctuary herds since the assumption in the listing of prices in *leges sacrae* is that animals will be purchased. At times animals seem to have been bought in advance and fattened up for sacrifice (*Ar. Eq.* 1135–6 with Schol.; cf. *Stob. Flor.* 79.8; a single special victim at Magnesia on the Maeander, *LSAM* 32). But at Athens the scale of sacrifice makes it unlikely that this could have been done with more than a small fraction.

The evidence for Athenian pastoralism is discussed by Hodkinson, who has noted that while Athens does not include rights to grazing in its grants to foreigners, the practice is in any case limited in its occurrence in Greece.⁶⁹ In this populous city–state, however, one would expect that most grazing was fully occupied by local herd-owners and that the issue did not arise. To Hodkinson’s description I add only that a close connection with agriculture makes it easier to rear animals for a particular time and purpose. Athenian sacrificial practice with its need for group feasting and less stress on the new-born animals than is the case today, even making allowance for the public character of our sources, would be well served by a certain amount

⁶⁸ Tegea: *LSCG* 67 = *IG* v 2, 3; Georgoudi 1974, 178–80. Cf. *LSCG* 105 = *IG* xii 5, 2 (Ios). Porph. *Abst.* 1.25, on Cyzicus. Flocks of Helius, in Laconia, *Hom. Hymn Ap.* (III) 411–13 (cf. *Od.* 12.129–30). Herodotus (9.93) tells of sacred sheep being herded at Apollonia in the northwest, a service performed by the leading men. *Livy* 24.3.3–7, Hera at Croton.

⁶⁹ Hodkinson 1988.

of intensification such as seems likely in the Attic countryside of the fifth and fourth centuries.

Sacrifice and diet

Important as the social and religious functions of sacrifice were in Greek life we should not overestimate the amount of meat the ritual added to the diet. Certainly it was a welcome supplement to the blandness of cereals and legumes even when enlivened with the *opson* (olives, cheese, onions and greens) Plato concedes to the simple city (*Resp.* II.372C). But the actual weight of meat consumed and the proteins and calories it contributed were modest. With the figures for usable meat given above in the discussion of cattle, the total amount of meat produced by the sacrifices in the Erchia calendar was approximately 796 kg.⁷⁰ Any calculation of the citizen population of the deme will be very approximate but adequate to make our point. If we suppose that the seven members of the Council of 500 from Erchia were roughly proportionate to the population of the deme as a fraction of the total population of Athens, the Athenian citizens in the deme were 1.4% of all citizens, or 1,400 in the fourth century when the total was around 100,000.⁷¹ This one calendar (with two victims missing at the end) would

⁷⁰ Cf. Dahl and Hjort 1976, 203; Sloan and Duncan 1978, 76. I am assuming all adults were full grown, lambs and kids were half the weight of adults, and piglets weighed 3 kg, all but the last probably being too generous, and I make no distinction between males and females. 20 sheep at 20 kg = 400 kg, 4 lambs at 10 kg = 40 kg, 11 goats at 20 kg = 220 kg, 1 kid at 15 kg = 15 kg, 5 piglets at 3 kg = 15 kg, for a total of 815 kg less 1 lamb (10 kg) and 3 piglets (9 kg) in holocaust = 19 kg.

⁷¹ J. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica: A Study of the Demes, Trittyes and Phylai, and their Representation in the Athenian Council*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 14, 1975, 67; A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC*, 1933 (repr. Chicago 1967, 29); M. H. Hansen, *Demography and Democracy: The Number of Athenian Citizens in the Fourth Century BC*, Herning, Denmark 1986, argues for a figure of ca. 30,000 Athenian male citizens actually living in Attica in the second half of the fourth century BC. With a hearth multiplier of 5 this raises the estimate of the total citizen population by one half and lowers the amount of meat available to each person from sacrifices by the same fraction. It is, of course, unrealistic to limit the recipients of meat to the citizens. Slaves might get much less but Aristotle ([*Oec.*] 1.5.6, 1344B), speaks of sacrifices and recreation being intended more for them than for the free, perhaps in the sense that the free had more opportunities. Metics participated formally in some festivals in Athens (*IG* i³ 82, 23 = i² 84), were members of their own organizations (W. S. Ferguson, "The Attic *Orgeones*," *HTHR* 37, 1944, 62–140), held sacrifices at home (Plato *Resp.* I, 328C) and could buy meat. But they were largely in or close to town and had access to the different pattern that prevailed there. It is also likely that fewer than the total number of deme members actually benefited from the local sacrifices since many by the fourth century would have lived in Athens. Erchia's quota on the Council was 6–7 members, according to J. Traill, *Demos and Tritty: Epigraphical Studies in the Organization of Attica*, Toronto 1986, 127, n. 15.

have supplied 0.5686 kg of meat per person. Let us further suppose that the missing “Lesser Demarchia” supplied as much again, and that the sacrifices of other organizations and private sacrifices of the demesman did the same, so that we triple this figure to 1.71 kg per person. The paltriness of the result can be seen when it is compared with the 11.06 kg of meat eaten by Cretans in the year 1947, which, together with poultry, game, snails and fish, still amounted to only 30% of the per capita quantity consumed in the United States at that time.⁷² In effect, the Erchia Calendar would have had to be multiplied 19 times to provide a quantity of meat for the deme members comparable to that eaten by post-war Cretans. With such extreme discrepancies we can, I suggest, throw out our hazardous calculations and retain only the conviction that the local ritual alone played little part in the nutrition of the demesmen, and since the majority of Greek communities were closer, in the scale of their sacrifices, to Erchia than to the city of Athens, the general impression that the Greek diet was based largely on plant and milk products need not be modified.⁷³

In the light of these conditions the prodigality of the Athenian state can be better appreciated. The heavy expenditure for cattle produced a vastly greater quantity of meat than the sheep and goat sacrifices of the demes and most private persons. If we take 2,000 head annually as a minimum number (we estimate between 1,400 and 1,700 from the sales of hides; see Appendix) at 100 kg of meat per animal there was 200,000 kg available, or 2 kg a year for each Athenian citizen (not counting foreigners and slaves). This more than doubles what we have suggested each person at Erchia might have received, and it is probably too cautious a figure. But, as has become all too clear with the rise of meat consumption in Third-World countries, feeding and slaughtering animals for meat is far less economical than growing cereals for food or for the fodder of milk animals. For Athens it was a social and political choice which, when she was prosperous, she could afford. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods Greek cities, Athens included, were, I believe, dependent in this respect as in others on the

⁷² L. G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study in an Underdeveloped Area*, Princeton 1953, 110: 7.5 ounces a week = 24.375 lbs a year = 11.06 kg.

⁷³ G. Bruns, *Küchenwesen und Mahlzeiten*, *Archaeologia Homerica*, II.Q, Göttingen 1970, 61–3. I should note that Payne regards the total sacrifices I have estimated as remarkably low in relation to the likely surplus of animals available to communities of this size. I agree, and no doubt many more animals were killed and eaten than the sacrificial regulations suggest. But we would need to postulate vastly greater consumption of meat from private sacrifices than we are aware of, or routine butchering without sacrifice, for which there is no solid evidence, in order to approach modern levels of meat consumption.

generosity of rich patrons, but it is a subject that remains to be examined in detail.⁷⁴

Ritual and practical aims

Local, ritual calendars correspond roughly to the seasonal supply of various animals. There are, however, sacrifices prescribed which are strictly “impractical” in that they have powerful religious functions but if widespread throughout the community would weaken the strength of the herd for survival and for fulfilling the other goals of the owners. These are the slaughter of pregnant victims – cows and sows at Marathon, ewes at Thoricus and Erchia, although the latter may have some practical grounds as well. So too the occasional prescription of a ram or buck, as opposed to a male sheep, i.e. wether (*ois*) or goat (*aix*), requires the keeping of a more troublesome, uncastrated male of less value for meat and wool. In small numbers these, and the even less common and more troublesome *tauros*, (bull) could be supplied by the culling of older stud animals though they might not pass the test implied by the term *kritos* (chosen) in the Thoricus calendar, cf. *kallisteuon*, (e.g. *LSCG* 96.6). Peleus’ vow of 50 uncastrated sheep in addition to a hecatomb to the river Spercheius (*Il.* 23.147) was meant, no doubt, to be on a heroic scale. Nonetheless it is inescapable that, while sacrificial practice seems generally consistent with the other reasons for maintaining animals, the primarily expressive character of certain rules has purposes of its own.

An example of this is the prohibition of goats as victims for Asclepius at his great sanctuary at Epidaurus (Paus. 2.26.9, cf. 10.32.12, and perhaps at

⁷⁴ Pritchett 1956, 257–8, doubts the costliness of beef and, as cattle provided the most meat and was sacrificed in great numbers in Athens, that may have been the case when it could be purchased from butchers in Athens instead of being bought on the hoof and sacrificed. However, we have no way of knowing how frequently private persons would have done so. A comic complaint about a cheap 10-drachmae sheep (below most fourth-century prices for sheep, Pritchett, 1956, 259–60), is made to point a contrast with the other accoutrements of a feast (Men. fr. 264 Körte; whatever the value of the victim, the gods of comedy made much of men’s Promethean selfishness in the division of the animal). L. Robert, *Le sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa*, vol. 1, *Les inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1945, 48–9, notes that when a specific weight of meat is assigned in inscriptions (most examples are Hellenistic in date) it is not less than one mina (0.431 kg on the Attic–Euboean standard) and often more, when serving as honors and perquisites of office. We do not know how many such portions any one person might receive in a year. But a single portion of a mina’s weight approaches what we estimated a deme member of Erchia might get from the sacrifices of the Greater Demarchia in a year’s time.

Erythrae, *LSAM* 24, 8–10). The mountainous Argolic Acte is particularly well suited to goats. Their grazing was probably the chief issue in the long-drawn-out border dispute between Epidaurus and Hermion and is likely to have been at the heart of similar disputes between Epidaurus and Corinth and Epidaurus and Arsinoe (Methana).⁷⁵ Goats might be sacrificed to all the other gods of Epidaurus, particularly perhaps to the earlier chief god of the area, Apollo, but not at the sanctuary of the healing god. One might see in this a desire on the part of local cult officials to encourage visitors from abroad to make more expensive sacrifices by which the god would be more honored and from which the officials would get more and better meat. Such a jaundiced view may not be justified. Ritual at times seems perverse and even harmful economically, though we cannot say this was actually the case in the Epidauria, but it serves equally important social purposes. At Epidaurus the rule may have underlined a distinction between Apollo with his occasional preference for goats and the newer patron of the sanctuary, Asclepius, whose Panhellenic status was reinforced by his disdain for the common local beast. Furthermore, if the principle aim of the local sheep and goat herders was the production of milk, with their surplus going to honor the numerous other local cults, they may not have been much affected by the rule in the Asclepius sanctuary.

An anthropologist who has given much thought to the relationship of subsistence and ritual has coined the phrase “a ritually regulated ecosystem.”⁷⁶ The closer a society is to having a self-contained, subsistence economy the better this concept applies. When wealth is concentrated with less direct relation to local agricultural or pastoral resources, then social and ritual values become more independent and sacrifice becomes part of what might be described rather as an economically limited ritual system. Such a situation was coming about in Classical Athens and in time it probably characterized much of the Greek and Roman world, which would have approved the priority given to sacrifice by the pious gentleman farmer: “The art of rearing animals is joined to agriculture so that we may have the means to please the gods by sacrificing and may make use of them ourselves” (Xen. *Oec.* 5.3).

⁷⁵ L. Moretti, *Inscrizioni storiche ellenistiche*, vol. 1, Rome 1967, no. 43 + *SEG* XX 405, XXXI 328. Cf. *IG* iv² 1, 70, 71 and 72. A man who may well have been the ancestor of one of the Epidaurian guides for the arbitration commission for the dispute with Hermion dedicated a small altar as “a tithe for the goats” to the *Anakes* (Dioscuri) at Epidaurus town. See M. T. Mitsos, “Ἀνάθημα δεκάτης αἰγῶν,” *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference of Peloponnesian Studies* II, 1976, 20–2.

⁷⁶ R. A. Rappaport, *Ecology, Meaning and Religion*, Richmond, CA 1979, 41.

APPENDIX: The Value of Ox-hides

It has been asserted since August Böckh that 3-drachmae and 4½-drachmae prices for an ox-hide are attested in fourth-century Athens.⁷⁷ Neither of the two passages cited by Böckh permits this inference.

The first passage is the cost per item of 17 *diphtherai* for 17 public slaves at the Eleusinian sanctuary (*IG* ii² 1672, 104, 329/8 BC). This entry is preceded by another for items of clothing. The *diphthera* is likely to have been a tunic made from goatskin (cf. *Ar. Nub.* 72).

The second passage cited by Böckh comes from an inscription (*IG* ii² 1356 = *LSCG* 28) which lists the payments to be made to priests in kind or in cash for a series of sacrifices. Normally the priest receives the skin of the animal sacrificed. For sacrifices of victims that are known as *heusta* “singed,” which do not have flayable skins, *darta*, a cash payment of 3 drachmae is prescribed.⁷⁸ But there was no reason why compensation for the priest who sacrifices a victim without a skin convertible to cash (i.e., a pig of whatever size) would have been equivalent to the full value of an ox-hide from the largest and most expensive victim. In fact, *IG* i³ 255 B, 14–18 (= i² 190 = *LSCG* 11) and *LSS* 19, 32–3, show that while the skin of a flayable victim might be included in a priest’s perquisites, for a singed victim (*me darton* in *IG* i³ 255) he could have his normal perquisites but no compensation for the lack of a skin. At Delphi sacrificers from Sciathus could take the skin if they paid the sanctuary 2 obols for a public sacrifice, 1 obol for a private sacrifice (*LSS* 41, 12–15). The conclusion must be that the 3 drachmae of *IG* ii² 1356 was not the equivalent of the skin of any particular type of victim (which might have been large or small, male or female, and cattle, sheep or goat) but an arbitrarily fixed fee to be paid to the priest. This suggests that a hide from the most expensive sacrifice was almost certainly worth more than three drachmae.

Despite the heavy slaughter of cattle in fourth-century Athens the demand for hides remained high and it was profitable to import them in large quantities. A ship’s captain overloaded his ship in the Pontus with 1,000 *dermata* (presumably ox-hides), thereby, it was alleged, wrecking the ship ([*Dem.*] 34.10); goat skins were also purchased in those parts ([*Dem.*] 35.34). In

⁷⁷ Böckh 1896, I:97 and II:22*, followed by L. Ziehen, “εὐστρόν,” *AthMitt* 24, 1899, 267–74, and Ferguson 1944, 101.

⁷⁸ For the meaning of *heuston* see Ziehen 1899 and *LegSacr* 1906, 81; cf. *LSAM* 36, 5 (*SIG*³ 1037), from Miletus, and *LSS* 19, 32–3 (Ferguson 1938) from Athens. For *darton*, Stengel 1910a, 131, n. 3.

the fifth century ox-hides were also imported from Cyrene (Hermippus 243 Kock, ap. Athen. I, 27E).

The interest in arriving at an approximate price for an ox-hide is in applying it to the receipts recorded for the sale of hides by the state in 335/4 BC and thus obtaining a minimum figure for the number of cattle sacrificed in that year. But it is easier to show what a hide was not worth than to say what it was. The following is a frankly speculative effort to do so by estimating the relative value of hides to wheat in antiquity. An unworked ox-hide of first quality has its price fixed at 500 *denarii* in Diocletian's *Price Edict*.⁷⁹ Unfortunately no prices are preserved from the *Edict* for cattle. The price fixed for wheat is 100 *denarii* for a *modius castrensis*,⁸⁰ which has been shown to be equivalent to one and a half times a *modius Italicus*, 12.315 liters and 8.6185 liters, respectively.⁸¹ The Attic *medimnus* may be taken to hold 52.176 liters,⁸² and since it was therefore about 4.27 times as large as the *modius castrensis*, that amount of wheat would have been priced at 427 *denarii* in the *Edict*. A hide, at 500 *denarii*, was valued at 1.17 times the cost of a *medimnus* of wheat.

To apply the information from the *Edict* to Classical Athens requires our making two assumptions: (1) that the relation between the price of cattle and that of wheat was much the same in the two periods, and (2) that an ox-hide was valued at approximately the same fraction of the cost of the ox in the two periods. Examination of the first of these assumptions involves something of an excursus.

The evidence of prices from medieval and early modern Western Europe shows a close relation between the price of wheat and that of cattle.⁸³ In antiquity wheat and ox-hides, universally available and not affected by workmanship applied to them, may also be expected to have had a fairly stable relationship in price. At any particular time the prices of cattle and wheat, of course, varied and would diverge to some degree from their average correlation over the long term. Diocletian's *Edict* was, notoriously, not concerned with actual price fluctuations or supply and demand. For sacrificial animals in Classical Greece the price may be expected to have been more closely tied to grain prices than that of other livestock since they

⁷⁹ S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt*, Munich 1971, 8. 6a, 126–7.

⁸⁰ Lauffer 1971, 1. 1a, 98–99.

⁸¹ R. Duncan-Jones, "The Choenix, the Artaba and the Modius," *ZPE* 21, 1976, 43–52 and "The Size of the Modius Castrensis," *ZPE* 21, 1976, 53–62.

⁸² M. L. Lang and M. Crosby, *The Athenian Agora, X: Weights, Measures and Tokens*, Princeton 1964, 46.

⁸³ B. H. Slicher von Bath, *The Agrarian History of Western Europe, AD 500–1850*, New York 1963, IIIB, esp. 98, 115.

were reared solely for butchery and would have been fattened on fodder as much as possible (cf. Columella *Rust.* 2.9.14, wheat as fodder). For Classical Athens differences in the sources of supply had a bearing. About half of Athens' grain came from overseas,⁸⁴ whereas cattle (unlike ox-hides) are not known to have come from beyond Attica itself and, probably, nearby areas in east central Greece. Crop failure in this region could be more easily countered by increased imports than could comparable shortages of cattle but the latter would not develop as quickly.

In Athens in 414 BC we have prices for both wheat and cattle from the same document, the forced sale of the property of those involved in the scandals of 415.⁸⁵ Wheat sold for between 6 and 6½ drachmae and cattle for 35 and 50 drachmae each. The ratio is 1 : 5.3–8.3 but the essential figures are probably 6½ for wheat (Pritchett suggests the 6-drachmae wheat was of poorer quality), and 50 for cattle, if the two 35-drachmae animals, evidently inferior to the two 50-drachmae plow-oxen in some respect, are left out. (That the price of cattle in the fifth century was generally in this range can be seen from Thoricus (40–50 drachmae) and the animals for the Panathenaea of 410/9, 51 drachmae each (ML 84, 7 = IG i³ 375 (i² 304A).) In this case the ratio is 1 : 7.7. At this time an ox-hide, if it was 1.17 times the price of a *medimnos* of wheat, as in the *Edict*, would have cost approximately 7.6 drachmae and its relationship to the price of an ox would have been 1 : 6.6.

I know of no other example of clearly comparable wheat and cattle prices. On Delos from the end of the fourth to the mid-second century there was generally a 1 : 7 ratio, with wheat around 10 drachmae and cattle at 70. When on occasion cattle rose to 120, no wheat prices are preserved, except possibly in 190 BC, at 10 drachmae.⁸⁶

The fourth century presents particular problems. For the first half of the century, when we have the high cattle prices, by late-fifth-century standards, of 100 drachmae (Panathenaic prizes, perhaps exceptional animals, IG ii² 2311, 72–6), 90 drachmae (Marathon), 77 drachmae (375/4 BC, for Delos, IG ii² 1635, 35–6) and 70 drachmae (363/2 BC, Salaminioi, LSS 19, 85), I know of no prices for wheat. (The figure of 3 drachmae cited from Ar. *Eccl.* 547–8 in 393 BC should not be pressed. Blepýros exclaims that he has lost a

⁸⁴ P. Garnsey, "Grain for Athens," in P. A. Cartledge and F. D. Harvey, eds., *CRUX: Essays presented to G. E. M. de Ste Croix on his 75th Birthday*, London 1985, 62–75.

⁸⁵ Pritchett 1956, 196–8, 257; ML 79, 68–70, who suggest all prices of these forced sales may be on the low side.

⁸⁶ F. M. Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen der Zeit von Alexander bis Augustus*, Jena 1930, Table XIV.

whole *hecteus* of wheat (a sixth of a *medimnos*) by not going to the assembly, where we are to understand he would have picked up 3 obols of pay.) In the second half of the century, 5 drachmae was regarded as the normal price for wheat and prices of 5–6 are attested between 330 and 324, with an exceptional 9, once, in the period 340–30.⁸⁷ The figure of 4,100 drachmae in 335/4–330/29 (*IG* ii² 234, 16 = *LSCG* 33) comes from income of rented land and has been thought to be for less than a hecatomb.⁸⁸ But at a time when wheat was 5–6 drachmae, a cattle price of 41 drachmae and a ratio of 1 : 6.8–8.2 would not be out of line. If a standard relationship existed, as I believe it did, I suggest it was close to 1 : 7–8.

Against this must be set the astonishing price of 400 drachmae for cattle and 30 for sheep and a goat in 329/8, a vivid illustration of religious considerations being paramount at a time of drought and short supply (*IG* ii³ 1672, 289–90).⁸⁹ But in the same year as the Eleusinian officials purchased these extraordinarily expensive cattle they sold a little over 80 *medimnoi* of wheat received as first fruits by the sanctuary for 6 drachmae a *medimnos*. The price was set by the demos, as was also the price to be paid for the sacrificial victims. The distortion of normal price relations is shown by the 1 : 13 ratio of sheep/goats to cattle, in contrast to the usual 1 : 5. Clearly grain was considerably higher than the price the assembly set for what the city had available to sell. But the crisis in grain seems to have eased this year and we may doubt that it approached the 50-drachmae price of a ratio of ca. 1 : 7.7 between wheat and cattle, suggested by the evidence of 414 BC. The effect on cattle prices of climate problems would have been slower to appear but also slower to remedy. It is notable that sheep and goats, which we have supposed could have been pastured in adequate numbers in Attica for normal needs, did not rise as steeply as cattle.

The prices reported from Solonian legislation of the early sixth century equate a *medimnos* of wheat with a sheep and show cattle as five times as expensive as sheep (approximately the relative weight of usable meat), for a wheat : cattle ratio of 1 : 5 (*Plut. Sol.* 23.3; Plutarch does not specify the grain but with this ratio it cannot have been for anything less valuable than wheat). If reliable, these figures would indicate that livestock were less expensive in the early sixth century than in the much more populous Classical period, when sheep were never less than 10 drachmae while wheat cost 5–6½ drachmae and cattle remained approximately five times as expensive

⁸⁷ Pritchett 1956, 197–8.

⁸⁸ L. Ziehen, “Die panathenäischen und eleusinischen ἱεροποιοί,” *RhM* 51, 1896, 215.

⁸⁹ M. H. Hansen, in S. Isager and M. H. Hansen, eds., *Aspects of Athenian Society in the Fourth Century BC*, Odense 1975, 200–8, suggests that the two preceding years had been more severe.

as sheep.⁹⁰ Reduction of grazing land with the expansion of agriculture and consequently a relative rise in the cost of livestock to cereals is to be expected.

It would be of considerable interest if a further rise in the relative price of cattle to grain could be demonstrated for the fourth century. Meanwhile it is not unreasonable to use the late fifth-century ratio of 1 : 7.7. As to whether that approximated the ratio in the *Edict*, we can only appeal to general considerations. Beef was less expensive than pork and the same price as mutton and goat meat in the *Edict* (4.1a–3) which argues for a relatively low price for cattle.⁹¹ This does not suggest cattle prices were, relatively, higher than in the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

As for the second assumption we have to make, that a hide had relatively the same proportion of the total value of the animal in all periods, there may be some indication that the 1 : 6.6 ratio suggested above for 414 BC is in the right range for ca. AD 300. An Italic pound of beef (0.32745 kg) was to sell for 8 *denarii*, according to the *Edict* (4 2). If 100 kg of dressed meat was available from each animal, that comes to 305 Italic pounds, worth 2,443 *denarii* (without the higher prices for special parts such as liver). Adding the value of the hide, 500 *denarii*, the whole animal produces close to 3,000 *denarii* or six times the value of the hide. One consideration would raise the relative value of the hide somewhat: since some figure for the expense of butchering would have been reckoned into the price of meat, the cost of the live animal should have been less than 3,000 *denarii*, and the hide, therefore, worth more than one-sixth of its cost. But another consideration lowers its relative value: I suspect that cattle of the third century AD may have been larger than the 200-kg animals assumed for Greece in the Bronze and Iron Ages and that more than 305 Italian pounds of meat, some of which would have sold for more than 8 *denarii*, could have been taken from their carcasses.⁹² The ratio of 1 : 6.6 suggested for the late fifth century does not seem far off the mark.

Returning to the relationship of wheat to hide, if we use the ratio in the *Edict* of 1 : 1.7 and if the relationship between wheat and cattle remained what it was in the late fifth century (1 : 6.6), I suggest that when wheat sold for between 5 and 6½ drachmae an ox-hide would have been worth roughly between 6 and 8 drachmae (which is double the fee, or more, given a priest who sacrificed a *heuston*). The lower range of 5 drachmae for wheat was standard in the later fourth century and hides would have

⁹⁰ Böckh 1896, I, 97.

⁹¹ Pritchett 1956, 257–8, supposed beef was cheap in Classical times as well.

⁹² Cf. S. Bökönyi, *History of Domestic Animals in Central and Eastern Europe*, Budapest 1974, 128, on the greater size of improved Roman cattle as compared to local Hungarian animals.

cost between 6 and 7 drachmae. Applying this to the receipts for the sale of skins in Athens, according to which some 10,000 drachmae would have been received in the whole year 334/3 (a little over 5,099 drachmae in 7 months, *IG* ii² 1496 = *SIG*³ 1029), we get hides of between 1,400 and 1,700 full-grown cattle sold by the officials. An indeterminable number of sacrifices did not come under their purview, and some hides may have continued to be handed over directly to the priests in charge, as was common when the state was not directly involved. 1,400 to 1,700 would be the lower limit of the number of cattle provided by the state for sacrifice. If, however, cattle prices rose vis-à-vis wheat, so did the price of hides and fewer cattle are represented by the income from their sale.

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Religion and the Greek polis

Athenian democracy's more conspicuous innovations in the sphere of religion – the statues and cult of the Tyrannicides, the institution of cult for the eponymous heroes of the ten tribes, the promotion of the cult of Theseus, and the creation of the Parthenon and its sculpture (all with strong ideological implications) – have received considerable attention recently.¹ In this chapter I focus rather on the structure of religious practice under the democracy, in the hope that this study may provide a basis for assessing the changes and supposed crises that religion in Athens is thought to have undergone in the later fifth and fourth centuries.

Religion was both more and less for the Greeks than it has been historically in the Western world. There was no single equivalent term in Greek. Here it will be understood as comprising the full range of symbolic conceptions and expressions, in word, in art, and in action, that engaged the supernatural. While the Greeks were perfectly well aware of the difference between the religious and the pragmatic, our divisions of sacred and secular or cultic and civic do not correspond to their distinctions. For the organization of religious thought and practice the Greeks lacked formulated doctrines

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¹ See D. Castriota, *Myth, Ethos and Actuality: Official Art in Fifth-century BC Athens*, Madison, WI 1992; D. Castriota, “Democracy and Art in Late Sixth and Fifth-century BC Athens,” in I. Morris and K. A. Raafaub, eds., *Democracy 2500? Questions and Challenges*, Archaeological Institute of America, Colloquia and Conference Papers 2, Dubuque, IA 1998, 197–216; J. Neils, ed., *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*, Hanover, NH and Princeton 1992; J. Neils, “The Panathenaia and Kleisthenic Ideology,” in W. D. E. Coulson, O. Palagia, T. L. Shear, Jr., H. A. Shapiro, and F. J. Frost, eds., *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy*, Oxford 1994, 151–60; H. A. Shapiro, “Religion and Politics in Democratic Athens,” in Coulson *et al.*, 1994, 123–30; R. Garland, *Introducing New Gods: The Politics of Athenian Religion*, Ithaca, NY 1992.

and sacred texts and an authoritative, exegetical clergy, although there were sources of exegesis on detailed ritual matters, and some sectarian groups possessed esoteric texts. Recognition, assent, and participation (all of which are implicit in the much-discussed phrase *nomizein tous theous*)² were manifested primarily in ritual action directed toward a variety of supernatural figures and by means of imaginative projections in poetry and art. Many of the characteristics of Greek religion can be found in other complex, polytheistic cultures, such as those of the ancient Near East, where, however, the political and social structures usually favored a much stronger role for religious specialists than in the fragmented Greek world, and also in what has survived to this century of comparable systems around the globe. Of numerous studies by anthropologists, Robert Levy's *Mesocosm*,³ on a Hindu city in Nepal, should prove particularly rewarding for Hellenists.

Much of what we see of Greek religion connects the social order, essentially the polis and its subdivisions, to the supernatural. Religion "provided the framework and the symbolic focus of the Greek polis."⁴ From an outsider's point of view, religion validated the social order and rendered it effective. Religion was inextricably bound to the social order, so that for most Greeks of the Classical period it would have made no sense to speak of some manifestation as "purely political." But modern discomfort with such a highly extroverted type of religion has led to the notion that somewhere else there lurks the real religion of the Athenians, overshadowed by the pride and wealth of the imperial city. The Athenians were in danger, it seems, of engaging in formal and superficial rites for political and material ends, while gods who failed to deliver were dismissed. Despite the despair and disillusion in Thucydides' account of the plague (2.53.4), however, no specific instances can be cited.⁵ Genuine religious sensibility is said to be

² E.g., H. S. Versnel, *Ter unus: Isis, Dionysos, Hermes – Three Studies in Henotheism*, Studies in Greek and Roman Religion vol. 6, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion* I, Leiden 1990, 124–30.

³ R. Levy, *Mesocosm*, Berkeley 1990.

⁴ C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "What Is Polis Religion?," in O. Murray and S. Price, eds., *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, Oxford 1990, 322; cf. E. Kearns, "Change and Continuity in Religious Structures after Cleisthenes," in P. Cartledge and F. D. Harvey, eds., *Crux: Essays Presented to G. E. M. de Ste. Croix on his 75th Birthday*, London 1985, 192: "Much of a group's perception of its own identity is formed through religious acts"; H. Yunis, *A New Creed: Fundamental Religious Beliefs in Athenian Polis and Euripidean Drama*, *Hypomnemata* 91, 1988, 19–72; L. Bruit Zaidmann and P. Schmitt Pantel, *Religion in the Ancient Greek City*, trans. P. Cartledge, Cambridge 1992.

⁵ Cf. Garland 1992, 1, who sees no problem here; K. Clinton, "The Epidauria and the Arrival of Asclepius in Athens," in R. Hägg, ed., *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence*, Stockholm 1994, 32, who suggests the Eleusinian priests welcomed Asclepius because their gods had been tarnished by not having helped against the plague.

glimpsed in personal piety, in the mystery cults, or in those cults that catered to the needs of the individual.⁶ When foreign cults were imported, it is a sign of a shaken Athenian sense of identity, and rational philosophy threatened to undermine the faith of the masses or arouse their hostility against the intelligent and educated, who were becoming alienated from their fellow citizens.

Not a few of these views (and no doubt my responses to them) may reflect the values of other societies and religions rather than those of Classical Athens. Traditional religion, although certainly affected by the extraordinary development of fifth-century Athens, was, I submit, considerably more robust, multifaceted, and adaptable than is often allowed. In all religious communities there are the fanatical, the compromisers, and the hypocritical or cynical. It is never easy to describe the overall state of religion, certainly not for a city in which Pericles and Nicias, Sophocles and Euripides, and Euthyphro and Socrates were contemporaries. This is not to doubt the reality of change and the presence of tensions and contradictions in religion, as in other areas. It is rather a question of finding appropriate criteria to gauge their significance.

Recognition of the central place public religion occupied for the Greeks is a necessary first step. And yet two caveats should be entered. First, in confirming the importance of religion at the level of the polis, we run the risk, especially when focusing on Athenian democracy, of slighting religion when it deals with the concerns of other populations than that of citizens, and essentially adult male citizens. Insofar as the individual and the household are elements within the structure of the polis, it is no doubt true that, “The polis anchored, legitimated and mediated all religious activity.”⁷ But most Greek cities also had larger or smaller populations of non-citizens within them: resident foreigners (in Athens called ‘metics’), the unfree, and, most numerous of all, women. Their religious behavior, and presumably beliefs and attitudes, did not differ significantly from that of male citizens, except that they had very restricted access to activities that identified specifically citizen groups (cf. the place of metics in the Hephaesteia, and in deme

⁶ E.g., C. G. Starr, “Religion and Patriotism in Fifth-century Athens,” in T. E. Gregory and A. G. Podlecki, eds., *Panathenaia: Studies in Athenian Life and Thought in the Classical Age*, Lawrence, KN 1979, 11–22; W. Burkert, “Athenian Cults and Festivals,” in D. M. Lewis, J. Boardman, J. K. Davies, and M. Ostwald, eds., *CAH V: The Fifth Century*, 2nd edn, Cambridge 1992, 266.

⁷ Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 297; on the importance of male citizens, see B. B. Strauss, “Genealogy, Ideology, and Society in Democratic Athens,” in Morris and Raaflaub 1998, 141–54.

cults).⁸ Nor is it evident that the religious life of free, native Greeks resident in communities that were not poleis but belonged to *ethne* was much different.⁹ In sum, polis religion is not the whole story.

We can go some way toward meeting the objection I am raising by substituting “community” – whether political, local, hereditary, or voluntary – for “polis,” as providing a series of alternative contexts and legitimizing frameworks.¹⁰ It has been observed that groups of people with common interests, but without formal political status, will constitute themselves as a *demos* – ad hoc *demoi*, we might call them. Examples are found at the Attic garrison town of Rhamnous, on Lemnos, where there was the *demos* of initiated Athenians, and on Salamis, the *demos* of the Salaminians, Athenians of various demes resident on the island.¹¹ This process and the indispensable ritual activity that accompanied it seem characteristic of Greek society and not dependent on the existence of a polis. Nonetheless it is true that for Athenians and others living in Attica the dominant and productive model was that of the polis, that is, the paramount *demos*.¹²

The other danger is that by concentrating on public religion we may neglect what was happening off the main, public stage, although the elements of Greek religion are not compartmentalized and isolated. On the level of the household (*oikos*) or the individual, religion is much less visible.¹³ Our knowledge derives from a scattering of references to household cults, much of which comes from comedy and its commentators, and speculation about the meaning of scenes on pots.¹⁴

⁸ IG i³ 82, 23–4; D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica, 508/7 – ca. 250 BC: A Political and Social Study*, Princeton 1986, 205–6.

⁹ On *ethne* see, e.g., G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, Munich 1920, 128–35.

¹⁰ For some of the many private cult groups, see W. S. Ferguson, “The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion,” *Hesperia* 7, 1938, 1–74.

¹¹ Rhamnous: R. G. Osborne, “The *Demos* and its Divisions in Classical Attica,” in O. Murray and S. Price, eds., *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, Oxford 1990, 277–85; Lemnos: R. Parker, “Athenian Religion Abroad,” in R. G. Osborne and S. Hornblower, eds., *Ritual, Finance, Politics: Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*, Oxford 1994, 339–46; Salamis: M. C. Taylor, *Salamis and the Salaminioi: The History of Unofficial Athenian Demes*, Amsterdam 1997.

¹² Osborne 1990.

¹³ I do not find the distinction between them as important as does C. Sourvinou-Inwood, “Further Aspects of Polis Religion,” *AnnArchStorAnt* 10, 1988, 259–74, who firmly rejects the household in favor of the individual; passages such as Xen. *Mem.* 1.1.2, which cites Socrates’ sacrificing at home and in communal contexts, and Pl. *Euthphr.* 14b1–5, on ritual in the interests of private households rather than the common interests of the cities, suggest that for Classical Greeks the entity contrasted with the activity of the polis and its subdivisions was, in the first instance, that of the household.

¹⁴ H. Sjövall, *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult*, Diss. Lund 1931; H. J. Rose, “The Religion of a Greek Household,” *Euphrosyne* 1, 1957, 95–116.

Archaeology does not suggest much in the way of ritual equipment, such as altars and images in private houses. Cult by the household, however, was not confined to the house, although votive offerings of the Classical period have yet to receive analysis comparable to what has been applied rewardingly to grave ritual.¹⁵ Enough can be surmised to show that Classical Athens, like all other poleis, had inherited a structure of religious practice that enabled the individual or family to mesh with the various groups that constituted the society and, in a different dimension, to address the persistent concerns that knew no social boundaries.¹⁶

The case of Zeus Meilichius

As a cautionary example let us consider the cult of Zeus Meilichius, whose festival, the Diasia, Thucydides believed to have been the greatest Attic festival of Zeus in the late seventh century, at the time of Cylon's failed attempt to make himself tyrant (Thuc. 1.126.6). In the fifth century (and by implication in the seventh) many Athenians made sacrifices (*pandemei*) of a local character (*epichoria*), not necessarily of animal victims. The sanctuary of the god at Agrae, just outside the town on the Ilissus, was the site of the festival referred to by Thucydides and by a sacrificial calendar of ca. 480–460 BC (IG I³, 234 A 3–5).

The deme of Erchia at least sent a sheep and sacrificers there in the fourth century (SEG 24.541, col. 1.37–40; LSCG 18),¹⁷ and perhaps the deme of

¹⁵ I. Morris, *Death-ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge 1992.

¹⁶ Since I wrote this essay, R. Parker's valuable *Athenian Religion: A History*, Oxford 1996 has been published. It addresses many of the questions I have raised. A very helpful general review of current research is J. Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, New Surveys in the Classics 24, Oxford 1994. Among overviews of Greek religion not limited to the polis, the writings of W. Burkert and J.-P. Vernant take instructively different approaches. See Burkert, *Greek Religion*, tr. J. Raffan, Cambridge, MA 1985; Burkert, 1992a, 245–67; Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, trans. M. Pinder and W. Burkert, Cambridge, MA 1992; and J.-P. Vernant, *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece*, Brighton 1980; Vernant, *The Origins of Greek Thought*, Ithaca, NY 1982; Vernant, *Myth and Thought among the Greeks*, London 1983; Vernant, "Greek Religion," in R. M. Seltzer, ed., *Religions of Antiquity*, New York 1989, 163–92. Current conflict between the state and the religious interests of the family has commonly been seen in Sophocles' *Antigone*. See especially M. Ostwald, *From Popular Sovereignty to the Sovereignty of Law: Law, Society, and Politics in Fifth-century Athens*, Berkeley 1986, 148–61, but also the skeptical view of N. Robertson, "Review of Ostwald 1986," *Phoenix* 43, 1989, 365–75. It is a large problem, much discussed, which I evade here and thereby admit to doubts. A more serious omission is the question of how the democracy may have affected cults conducted by women, such as the Thesmophoria, Brauronia, and the worship of Adonis. J. J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece*, New York 1990, offers food for thought.

¹⁷ M. H. Jameson, "Notes on the Sacrificial Calendar from Erchia," *BCH* 89, 1965, 154–72.

Thoricus as well in the later fifth century (*SEG* 33.147, 34–35; the place of sacrifice is not specified).

But the god was also worshipped, probably primarily by women and by foreigners or freedmen, near the Cephissus, north of the Hill of the Nymphs in the city, in the shrine of Nymphae south of the Acropolis, and at Alopece, Sunium, and Piraeus.¹⁸ Particular Athenian families had their traditional ways of worshipping him (*Xen. An.* 7.8.1–6). At the polis level there is no trace of a temple, treasury, priest, or commissioners (*hieropoioi* or the like), and much the same picture obtains for the rest of Greece. Both from Attica and elsewhere it is evident that he had two main spheres of interest: purification from bloodshed and the prosperity and safety of the individual and the family.

This then is a cult that penetrated Attic society widely, was thought to have had a long history, was celebrated *pandemei* (perhaps “by people throughout the whole community coming together”), and yet, as far as we can see, was untouched by the polis and the coming of the democracy. Other divinities who were recognized by the polis but may have continued to receive the greatest attention at the level of the household are Demeter and Kore, Dionysus, and Aphrodite *pandemos* (the last absent from the deme calendar of Erchia) while Demeter and Dionysus receive one small sacrifice each.¹⁹

Athenian democracy: comparisons

To appreciate what was distinctive about religion in democratic Athens we need to ask two questions. How much did religion of the fifth and fourth centuries differ from what had been inherited and from contemporary developments in non-democratic states? To what degree are the characteristics of religion in Classical Athens attributable to democracy rather than to other factors, most conspicuously the Athenian empire of the fifth century? Since we know much more about Classical than Archaic Athens, and more about Athens than any other Classical city, the comparisons we want to make are bound to be somewhat speculative and to depend as much on more or less plausible models of the history of Greek society as on clues provided by evidence for the period. Two conceptions of Archaic Athens have

¹⁸ M. H. Jameson, D. R. Jordan, and R. D. Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinous*, *GRBM* 11, Durham, NC 1993, 81–103.

¹⁹ Cf. R. Parker, “Festivals of the Attic Demes,” in T. Linders and G. Nordquist, eds., *Gifts to the Gods*, *Boreas* 15, 1987, 142 on the Anthesteria and Pyanopsia.

long been prevalent. First, the city to which Cleisthenes applied his reforms was the product, still incomplete, of the unification of a large number of local and regional communities, a process symbolized in the story of the *sunoikismos* of Theseus and hastened on by the centralizing efforts of the Pisistratid tyranny of the sixth century.²⁰ Second, the society was dominated by an aristocratic elite organized into kinship groups known as *gene* (sometimes translated as “clans”) and *phratryiai* (etymologically “brotherhoods”) against which the state, the polis, contended, with increasing success.

Both notions have come under criticism in recent years. Archaeology points to a relatively empty countryside in the Geometric period, followed by a spread outward from the town of Athens. At a time when many other city-states were founding colonies, Attica was the scene of internal colonization.²¹ As for cult, both center and periphery can be seen as contributing to the development of the pattern that becomes visible in the Classical period, reconstructed in large part from the sacrificial calendars of the Classical period.²² The relationship between local, regional, and central (polis) cults, all three of which the demesmen of Plotheia helped fund at the end of the fifth century (*IG* i³, 258), is not entirely clear for that time. It may have varied considerably between communities, a city deme, for instance, and a remote village in the countryside, and the connections are largely a matter of conjecture for the Archaic period.

While the prestige and influence of an aristocratic elite remains a reality in the Archaic period, the *gene* and *phratryiai* can no longer be regarded as kinship groups surviving from a tribal society that preceded the polis and reflecting the structure of political power in the Archaic period. The former seem often to have been cult associations, possessing a priesthood (along with a precinct, an image, ritual instruments, dedications, and property) that used putative kinship and patrilineal membership to maintain their exclusive character.²³ The association of leading political figures with a priestly gentilician cult and the exploitation of cults for political purposes, while not inherently implausible in the light of Herodotus’ account

²⁰ F. Kolb, “Die Bau-, Religions- und Kulturpolitik der Peisistratiden,” *JDAI* 92, 1977, 99–138;

F. J. Frost, “Peisistratus, the Cults, and the Unification of Attica,” *AncW* 21, 1990, 3–9.

²¹ R. G. Osborne, “Archaeology, the Salaminioi and the Politics of Sacred Space in Archaic Attica,” in S. E. Alcock and R. G. Osborne, eds., *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, Oxford 1994, 143–60.

²² Cf. J. Mikalson, “The Religion of the Attic Demes,” *AJPh* 98, 1977, 424–351; Parker 1987.

²³ F. Bourriot, *Recherches sur la nature du génos: étude d’histoire sociale athénienne – périodes archaïque et classique*, Lille 1976; D. Roussel, *Tribu et cité: études sur les groupes sociaux dans les cités grecques aux époques archaïque et classique*, Annales littéraires de l’université de Besançon 193, Paris 1976; E. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica*, *BICS* Suppl. 57, London 1989, 73.

(7.153) of Telines of Gela, who established his and his family's position solely through the possession of the *hiera* of the Underworld Gods, need to be examined case by case. Rather than there being a conflict between kinship and civic principles, a number of old families shared most of the ritual functions of the community at all levels and no doubt relished the consequent dignity. But once the notion of political power wielded through cults is regarded as problematic, Cleisthenes' hands-off policy on the *gene*, *phratriai*, and priesthoods (*hierosunai* Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 21.6) need not be seen as a means of isolating the priestly families from a "constitutional prestige" they never enjoyed.²⁴

It is likely that the majority of cults served a restricted community, however defined. To the extent that the leaders of the *gene* also served as hosts, who supplied the sacrificial animals as well as the sacrificing priest and supervised the distribution of meat, they showed their status in that community, their regard for others admitted into the circle of the sacrifice, and their expectation of recognition in return. Sacrifice was as potent a demonstration of status as were rich funerals and dedications or the mounting of athletic competitions or choral performances, and it was considerably more common. While we lack detail for the Archaic period, when the role of the elite in the city was undoubtedly larger than in the more egalitarian Classical period, a return to these conditions can be seen in Hellenistic and Roman times, when the largesse of the rich is frequently recorded. Conceivably it was the prestige derived particularly from sacrifices at important regional cult centers that Cleisthenes, according to D. M. Lewis's suggestion,²⁵ tried to break up by means of some gerrymandering of *trittyes* within *phylai*. That may now seem to exaggerate the degree to which the control of cults was a weapon in political struggles. The change, probably gradual and not uniform, whereby the city rather than the *gene* came to serve as the supplier of animals, and hence as donor of the meat and host of the feast, may have been more significant. With that came an enlargement of the sacrificial community, now less exclusive and no longer dependent on elite patronage but also constituting a larger theater for the priests' performances.

Well before the Classical period the role of the state in religion was substantial. Defining "state cult" is difficult enough in the Classical period,

²⁴ D. Feaver, "Historical Development in the Priesthoods of Athens," *YCS* 15, 1957, 134; R. Garland, "Religious Authority in Archaic and Classical Athens," *BSA* 79, 1984, 78 concurs, and goes so far as to say: "It is in the priesthoods, as a matter of fact, that democracy seems to have been born."

²⁵ D. M. Lewis, "Cleisthenes and Attica," *Historia* 12, 1963, 22–40.

when the evidence is abundant, let alone in the Archaic period.²⁶ If we accept that there was no barrier between the polis and its components, and that the goodwill of the gods concerned the whole community, no matter who performed the ritual, the polis may have been expected to intervene at any point when its help could benefit the gods and the community. Three such points are most evident: (1) the provision of resources beyond the means of individuals or groups; (2) the appointment of officials to ensure the successful performance of ritual – for the safekeeping, disbursement, and accounting of resources and the maintenance of good order among participants; (3) the publication of information on when and how ritual was to be performed. In some cases the polis may have ensured that ritual regarded as essential did not lapse (much ritual probably did and was lost to memory with the impoverishment or extinction of the families responsible for it, even as other ritual was constantly being added or elaborated); in others the aim would have been to expand participation in a ritual, particularly important under the democracy, but a process by no means initiated only then.

On the first point, the largest expense would have been temple-building, which has been seen as a key element in the emergence of the polis.²⁷ By the sixth century it had moved to a level of expense with which no less an organization than a polis could cope.²⁸

With regard to the second point, a long history of collaboration between the community as a whole and the priests of particular cults is indicated, since Athens seems to have had only gentilician priests before the democracy. The ritual functions of the archon known as the *basileus* “king” may go back to a time when the leader of the community was also responsible for the community’s ritual obligations, either in his own person or with specialized personnel. The office of *hieromnemon* (literally “sacred rememberer,” not so common a term in Athens as in some other states) would seem to antedate the use of writing for cult matters. In addition to officials said by later sources to have been responsible for the management of cults going back to the Archaic period (e.g., the three archons in Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 56–8), we know of *hieropoioi* (commissioners for sacred matters, *IG* i³, 507; cf. [*Ath. Pol.*] 54.7) for the Panathenaea and *tamiai* (treasurers or stewards, *IG* i³, 510) of Athena in the mid-sixth century from dedications they make, although

²⁶ S. B. Aleshire, “Towards a Definition of ‘State Cult’ for Ancient Athens,” in R. Hägg, ed., *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence*, Stockholm 1994, 9–16.

²⁷ A. M. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece*, London 1980, 33–4, 58–62.

²⁸ J. K. Davies, “Religion and the State,” in J. Boardman, N. G. L. Hammond, and D. M. Lewis, eds., *CAHIV: Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean*, 2nd edn, Cambridge 1988, 368–88.

as private individuals, not on behalf of the city (interestingly, dedications by officials lapse and are not seen again until 408/7 BC: in *IG i*³, 515, a group of *prytaneis* of the Council, but not all fifty). *Hieropoioi*, to be sure, did make certain sacrifices in Aristotle's day ([*Ath. Pol.*] 54.7), as any official might, but their principle function was to facilitate the performance of ritual by the appropriate persons. In the polis' creation of new officials concerned with cult there has been seen a deliberate decision not to expand the role of priests and a preference for the development of cults in which the stress was on ceremony, competitions, and participation rather than on prayer and sacrifice.²⁹ The polis innovations do, indeed, show the nature of the city's role and that managers, not ritual experts, were needed. There was no slighting of the priests, however, and sacrifice remained at the heart of the Panathenaea.

Regarding the third point, the recording of so-called *leges sacrae* has been well described as implying "a shift of context away from the particular festival, cult-centre or shrine, and the creation of a frame of reference outside it,"³⁰ but that frame is perhaps better termed that of the polis as a whole, rather than of the "lay" community, since there was no contrasting clerical or sacred community. Aside from a few citations from Solon's laws,³¹ nothing that has survived is certainly earlier than Cleisthenes. There would seem, in fact, to have been little momentum in this direction before the full democracy of the 450s; most of what we have on stone before then has to do with the Eleusinian cult. A systematic collation, reconciliation, and recording of all the state's cultic concerns in a calendar was not attempted until the end of the century. The better-preserved texts suggest that a change or a problem, such as the respective responsibilities of different authorities or officials, was usually the reason for reviewing and recording ritual practice. The process was, as one might expect, piecemeal, and set in motion as problems emerged.

Less concrete but no less important in the long run was the polis' appropriation of the symbolism inherent in the cults that came to define the polis, even as it developed the means to maintain them on a scale satisfactory to the larger community. These means were in place and available for expansion in response to the demands of the democracy. If this whole process was hastened on by the sixth-century tyrants, it is characteristic of them to have worked through the polis.

²⁹ Davies 1988, 374–5. ³⁰ Davies 1988, 376.

³¹ E. Ruschenbusch, *SOLOS NOMOI: Die Fragmente des solonischen Gesetzeswerkes mit einer Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte*, *Historia*, Einzelschr. 9, Wiesbaden 1966, 100–2.

Archaic Greece outside Athens seems generally to have the same pattern suggested for Athens, although allowance must be made for distinctive regional traditions and social structures. The consequences of the Panhellenic egalitarian trend of the late sixth and the fifth centuries³² are likely to have enlarged the role of the polis even in cities that did not travel far down the road to democracy, although one would expect less change in those that lacked the ideological, political, and economic dynamics of fifth-century Athens. Nevertheless it must be said that the social structure of religion outside Athens is much less well served by the evidence and is in need of study.

Expanded participation

To the political structure of Athens, democracy introduced two kinds of change: it broadened the base of participation in the public life of the polis, and it created new entities to which the now larger population of active citizens belonged (the 10 *phylai*, 30 *trittyes*, and 139 *demoi* or demes). Both changes had major consequences for religious activity.

A measure of participation is the scale of the city's festivals, famously and hyperbolically said to be more numerous and richer than those of all of the other Greeks put together (Xen. [*Ath. Pol.*] 3.2, 3.8; Pl. *Alc.* II, 148e). Let us focus on the three most important public festivals: the Panathenaea, the City Dionysia, and the Eleusinian Mysteries. Processions (*pompai*), sacrifices (*thusiai*), and contests (*agones*—athletic, poetic, choral, and dramatic) could be watched by all citizens and to some degree by women, foreigners, and slaves as well, since we do not hear of their exclusion at this point. Fewer, but still many, marched in the processions escorting animals and accompanying officiants and shared in the distribution of meat from sacrifices; many, although again fewer, competed in contests.

The Panathenaea, celebrated annually and more grandly every fourth year, had received the Pisistratids' attention: Hippias and Hipparchus were at either end of the procession's route when the latter was assassinated (Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 18.3). The tyrants used their five-percent tax for cult as well as military purposes (Thuc. 6.54.5), but their precise contribution is disputed, and we can only guess at the festival's scale in the sixth century.³³ Much of

³² I. Morris, "The Strong Principle of Equality and the Archaic Origins of Greek Democracy," in J. Ober and C. Hedrick, eds., *Demokratia: A Conversation on Democracies, Ancient and Modern*, Princeton 1996, 19–48.

³³ Kolb 1977; N. Robertson, "The Origin of the Panathenaea," *RhM* 128, 1985, 231–95; H. A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens*, Mainz 1989.

the elaborate program of contests known from the fourth century required competition between the Cleisthenic *phylai*.³⁴ As for sacrifice at the festival, it is not until the late fifth century that we have information on the number of victims for the quadrennial festival (a hecatomb, theoretically and often in practice 100 head of cattle, in 410/409 BC: *IG i*³ 375.6–7; ML 84; Fornara 154). In the fourth century, Isocrates (7.29) speaks, perhaps rhetorically, of sacrifices for feasting with 300 head of cattle. Earlier, probably in the mid-fifth century, around the time the Delian league's treasury was moved to Athens and stored on the Acropolis, the Athenians invited each of their over 200 allies to bring a cow and panoply to the Great Panathenaea, as though they were their own colonists.³⁵ Their own contributions, with all their citizenry on hand, would have been no less and certainly surpassed those of the sixth century. The type of victims – primarily cows instead of sheep, the usual victims in private sacrifices and those of groups below the polis – was as remarkable as the scale of sacrifice.³⁶ The larger and more numerous the victims, the greater the amount of meat available for the community of sacrificers, and also (*pace* Plato) the piety of the Athenians displayed for the world to see.

The City Dionysia, another festival expanded rather than introduced after Cleisthenes,³⁷ surely drew larger audiences in the new theater than those that had sat on bleachers in the Agora – a crude but sure measure of popular involvement. The festival also had an external aspect with its displays of *phalli* from colonies and of tribute from the empire. Its many ritual components as well as its drama have been seen as ideologically appropriate to the democracy.³⁸

Our third example of a pre-existing cult, the Eleusinian Mysteries, shows in its architecture an ambitious expansion in the late sixth century and then

³⁴ Neils 1992; Neils 1994.

³⁵ ML, 46.41–2; Fornara, 98; *IG i*³, 34; ML, 69.56–9; Fornara, 136; *IG i*³, 71. Cf. ML, 49.11; Fornara, 100; *IG i*³, 46, for the new colony at Brea.

³⁶ M. H. Jameson, "Sacrifice and Animal Husbandry in Classical Greece," in C. R. Whittaker, ed., *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity*, *CPhS Suppl.* 14, 1988, 96 (Chapter 10, this volume, pp. 198–231).

³⁷ C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "Something to Do with Athens," in Osborne and Hornblower 1994, 273–7, discussing W. R. Connor, "City Dionysia and Athenian Democracy," in W. R. Connor, M. H. Hansen, K. A. Raafaub, and B. B. Strauss, eds., *Aspects of Athenian Democracy*, *Classica et Mediaevalia dissertationes* 11, Copenhagen 1990, 7–32.

³⁸ Connor 1990; S. Goldhill, "The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology," in J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin, eds., *Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in its Social Context*, Princeton 1990, 97–129; but cf. L. Kurke, "The Cultural Impact of Democracy," in Morris and Raafaub, 1998, 151–70.

again in the mid-fifth. In the former the initiates were perhaps accommodated under a roof for the first time, and in the latter the space was increased fourfold.³⁹ The Mysteries even more than the other two festivals made an effort to attract foreigners as well as Athenians.⁴⁰

Each of these three great festivals was expanded under the democracy, and each had its distinctive features. For the Panathenaea and City Dionysia at least, one can argue that they reflect Athenian society of the Classical period: democratic but with roles for the wealthy and for athletically or artistically talented individuals, hegemonic when not imperialist, and open to elaboration and invention. But all three, and in fact all Greek cults, shared a central, indispensable act: animal sacrifice, the ritual killing of an animal, usually preceded by a procession and followed by distribution and consumption of the meat.⁴¹

The prelude and postlude were not strictly essential to the ritual, but for major public cults they were of great social value because they were capable of considerable expansion to accommodate and to represent a larger community of worshippers while allowing prominence to officials of the state and the cult. The best-known procession (*pompe*) is that of the Panathenaea, reflected – however selectively – on the Parthenon frieze. By contrast, the central acts of praying, killing the victim, butchering and placing parts to be burnt on the altar, and observing and interpreting the omens continued by their nature to be performed by a very few individuals and in the major cults, as we shall see, for the most part by members of old gentilian groups, the *gene*. After the completion of the central acts of ritual came the sharing of the meat, and here the limits were set by the number of people who were recognized as members of the sacrificial community and the number of animals slaughtered. At the Panathenaea all citizens who marched in the procession received a share in the meat, which was first divided up by deme (*IG* ii², 334, 25–7). There was hardly a more democratic feature of the religious life of Classical Athens.

To both ancient and modern critics the proliferation of the butchery of animals has seemed to cater to the gross appetites of the masses and to be the real motive for festivals on a large scale. Aristophanes (*Eq.* 654–65)

³⁹ For recent discussion of the chronology of the architecture, T. Hayashi, *Bedeutung und Wandel des Triptolemosbildes vom 6.–4. Jh. v. Chr. Religionshistorische typologische Untersuchungen*, Beiträge zur Archäologie 20, Würzburg 1992, 19–23 brings the so-called Pisistratid building down to the end of the century, and K. Clinton, “Sacrifice at the Eleusinian Mysteries,” in R. Hägg *et al.*, eds., *Early Greek Cult Practice*, *ActaAth* 4⁰–38, Stockholm 1988, 69–79, examines the mid-fifth-century building.

⁴⁰ Cf. *IG* i³, 6, ca. 460 BC; *ML*, 73; Fornara, 140; *IG* i³, 78, ca. 422?; Hayashi 1992.

⁴¹ See Clinton 1988 for the importance of sacrifice even in the Eleusinian Mysteries.

has politicians outbidding each other for popularity with the number of sacrificial victims they propose. For the Old Oligarch (Xen. [*Ath. Pol.*] 2.9), the situation in Athens is simple: the individual poor man cannot afford to sacrifice, feast, establish sanctuaries (or rituals), and live in a beautiful and great city, and so the city sacrifices many animals publicly (*demosiai*), and the demos feasts and divides up the animals (rather than “establish sanctuaries” it may be that the poor cannot “acquire animals” – either rendering requires an emendation of the text). The statement is accurate enough but, as always with this author, tendentious. For modern critics the brutality of the scene, with scores of animals having their throats pierced and then being cut open and cut up, has not encouraged appreciation of the Athenians’ piety. Few Greeks, however, in a protein-poor land, doubted the benefits of having a great deal of meat available, and some, as in all societies, were more interested in the refreshments than in the ritual. But there is no reason to suppose that for most Athenians the opportunity of dedicating a great number of unusually large victims to their gods was seen as anything less than a spectacular demonstration of piety. Even the requirement that allied cities send a cow to the Panathenaea can be seen as a generous extension of ancestral ritual: Athens opens its chief festival to outsiders by regarding them as kinsmen and giving them the privilege of joining in the sacrifice alongside the Athenians by offering a victim to the goddess. That this action also shows the power of the principal sacrificer, the polis of Athens, in no way diminishes its religious function.

The distribution of meat after normal sacrifice had always furnished an opportunity to demonstrate the relative status of those involved in the sacrifice. Special parts or extra portions were reserved for the chief sacrificer and others singled out for honor: Odysseus as the guest receives the chine of the boar in Eumaeus’ hut (Hom. *Od.* 14.437–8). The rest is divided evenly among other participants.⁴² The concept of the equal feast (*dais eise*) is Homeric and may antedate the nascent egalitarianism of the early city-state, but it was no less appropriate for the fifth-century democracy when all no longer actually sat down to dine together.

The consumption of the meat could occur on the spot, as in the Homeric description of the Pylia feast at *Od.* 3.417–74, and was customary later for small, exclusive groups, such as *thiasoi* and *orgeones*. On the scale that the Athenians sacrificed, joint feasting at the place of sacrifice could become

⁴² There is a wealth of information from inscriptions and antiquarians; see briefly, L. Ziehen, “Opfer,” *RE* XXXV, 1939, 619–21; more fully, the inaccessible F. Puttkammer, *Quo modo Graeci victimarum carnes distribuerint*, Diss. Königsberg 1912.

impractical, although it was still regarded as characteristic of the newer, added (*epithetoî*) sacrifices by Isocrates (7.29). The flesh was cut up and distributed raw and could be taken home to be consumed by the household, given to friends or relatives, or sold to butcher shops. This is not, however, to be taken as showing a decline from a higher standard of piety. It was, in fact, normal practice. When feasting on the spot was regarded as ritually desirable, as sometimes happened, that had to be specified in ritual regulations.⁴³ The meat from the three oxen reserved for the metics at the city's Hephaesteia (*IG* i³, 82.23–4) was distributed raw, as was the meat from animals paid for by the polis but sacrificed by the *genos* of the Salaminioi.⁴⁴ Meat distributed raw guaranteed a share even for those not joining in a feast. Expanded participation may have lessened the sense of community among those who feasted together, but it spread the effect of sacrifice more widely so that absent members of the household might share (cf. the wives' portions given to *orgeones*, members of small cult groups, *LSS*, 20.22).⁴⁵

The management of existing cults

The contrast between the large numbers sharing the meat and the very limited personnel engaged in the central actions has been mentioned. The decentralized ritual system of the Greeks permitted any man (or woman, but not usually by her own hands),⁴⁶ to make sacrifice as the leading figure in the particular sacrificial community. So, in Homer, both Agamemnon and Eumaeus are shown in this role, and there was nothing to prevent the ordinary citizen when serving his community from doing so. As government expanded and involved more of the citizenry under the democracy, the routine sacrifices that accompanied all public business were performed by the same citizens deemed capable of serving in the Council or on various

⁴³ S. Scullion, "Olympian and Chthonian," *ClAnt* 13, 1994, 103–12; V. J. Rosivach, *The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens*, American Classical Studies 34, Atlanta, GA 1994, 18–20.

⁴⁴ *SEG* 21.527; Ferguson 1938, 20–4; *LSS* 19.

⁴⁵ Cf. W. S. Ferguson, "The Attic *Orgeones*," *HThR* 37, 1944, 74–9. *Hestiatres*, who paid and arranged for other aspects than meat in post-sacrificial feasts, are relatively minor liturgists for the 10 tribes in the fourth century, [Dem.] 20.21, with the Patmos Scholiast, I. Sakkélion, "Εκ των ανεκδότων της Πατμιακής Βιβλιοθήκης, Scholies de Démosthène et d'Eschine d'après un manuscrit inédit de Patmos," *BCH* 1, 1877, 147; J. E. Sandys, *The Speech of Demosthenes against the Law of Leptines*, Cambridge 1890, x; *IG* ii², 2311.78–81, with J. K. Davies, "Demosthenes on Liturgies," *JHS* 87, 1967, 36–7. For the *hestiator* of *orgeones*, *LSS*, 55; and of demes, see Parker 1987, 138.

⁴⁶ R. G. Osborne, "Women and Sacrifice in Classical Greece," *CQ* n.s. 43, 1993, 392–405.

commissions.⁴⁷ These were usually rites not tied to specific sacred places or deities with their own genticial priests.

In the simpler sacrifices of a Homeric king or a Classical head of household, the performer of ritual and the giver of the animal victim were one and the same, and he gained credit for his act of piety. He is both “le sacrificateur” and “le sacrificant” in the terminology of Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss.⁴⁸ In the sacrifices of the various groups that make up the Archaic and Classical polis, however, specialists performed the ritual while the group or community that supplied the animals and served as host received the religious credit. In Classical Greece, although all were free to sacrifice on their own behalf, when the interests of a larger group were at stake the right person (because of tradition, expertise, or authorized appointment) was required. The priest or priestess (*hierēus* or *hierēia*) were the ones closest to *ta hiera*, the versatile term that refers to the essentials of the sacred.⁴⁹ Thus the act of sacrificing in the major cults of those particular gods that the polis had come to regard as essential to its wellbeing continued to be the prerogatives of a few individuals, and in the case of existing cults the priests were all members of *gene*; as we know from Aristotle, the priesthoods were not touched by Cleisthenes.

Thus the *genos* of the Boutadae, or Eteoboutadae (“true Boutadae”) as they styled themselves in distinction from the new deme of Boutadae, provided the priestess of the goddess of the Panathenaea, Athena Polias, and the priest of Poseidon Erechtheus.⁵⁰ The *gene* of the Eumolpidae, Kerykes,

⁴⁷ This is well illustrated by Osborne 1994, 146 n. 6; cf. Antiph. 6.45 and Theophr. *Char.* 21.11, which shows that ordinary people such as “The Man of Petty Ambition” could take pride, excessive in his case, in the faultless performance of routine ritual acts.

⁴⁸ H. Hubert and M. Mauss, “Essai sur la nature et fonction du sacrifice,” *L’Année sociologique* 2, 1899, 29–138, repr. 1929 in *Mélanges d’histoire des religions*, 2nd edn, Paris, 1–130. The terms “le sacrificateur” and “le sacrificant” are rendered awkwardly in the English translation by W. D. Halls, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function*, Chicago 1964, as “sacrificer” and “sacrifier”; on the Greek vocabulary of sacrifice, see J. Casabona, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en grec des origines à la fin de l’époque classique*, Annales de la faculté des lettres n.s. 56, Aix-en-Provence 1966, especially 69–94.

⁴⁹ Casabona 1966, 5–38. Despite the ability of the private person to sacrifice, even at public sanctuaries (as seen in references in *leges sacrae* to the fees and perquisites to be paid by them), there could be requirements that the sanctuary’s priest be present (e.g., *LSCG*, 36; *IG* ii², 1177). At the Amphiareion in Oropus the priest, when at the sanctuary, performed the sacrifice for a private worshipper; when he was absent, the private person performed it (*LSCG*, 65; *IG* vii, 235, trans. in D. G. Rice and J. E. Stambaugh, *Sources for the Study of Greek Religion*, SBL Sources for Biblical Study 14, Missoula, MT 1979, 127–8). The penalties even for a priest performing an unauthorized sacrifice could be severe, e.g., in [Dem.] 59.116, a Hierophant condemned for performing a sacrifice only permitted the Priestess of Demeter.

⁵⁰ [Plut.] *X orat.* 843E; J. Martha, *Les sacerdoces athéniens*, *BÉFAR* 26, 1882, 148, 173. The priest of Poseidon Erechtheus was perhaps the priest of the hero Erechtheus before the fifth century, L. H. Jeffery, “Poseidon on the Acropolis,” *Acta of the 12th International Congress of Classical*

and probably others performed the ritual for the Eleusinian goddesses.⁵¹ We do not hear, in fact, of a traditional gentilician priesthood being removed or replaced by the polis, even though, with the inevitable dying out of some families, replacements must at times have been needed. Within the old *gene* the method of selection of the individual priest came in time to follow that used for newly established priesthoods, sortition from a select list.⁵²

While this was thoroughly in accord with democratic procedures and was applied to priesthoods newly established by the demos, there is no evidence that it was imposed upon the *gene* by the demos. Just as the elite adjusted with remarkable adaptability to the new political and military conditions and long managed to maintain its positions of leadership within the democracy, so the traditional priests, no longer necessarily either rich or particularly aristocratic, found themselves prominent and honored in ceremonies much grander in scope and wealth than their forebears could have conceived in the previous century.⁵³

With expanded participation, the financial responsibility of the polis increased – for temples, for competitions, and for sacrifices. It became increasingly the other partner in the rite, the *sacrifiant*, the source of the gift to the god and the expectant recipient of the god's favor. We find modest payments by the city for certain sacrifices for which *gene* were responsible, as in the case of the Salaminioi (*SEG* 21.547, 10–21, 86; *LSS*, 19) and the sacrifices in the combined city calendar of sacrifices. Many, perhaps most, of the sacrifices in the deme calendars may at one time have been the responsibility of individual families.⁵⁴ In the fourth century the demes of Marathon (as seen in the Tetrapolis calendar) and Erchia (*SEG* 21.541; *LSCG*, 18) assumed the costs, although in the latter the deme seems, exceptionally, to have arranged for five liturgists to divide the modest expenses between themselves, perhaps because the deme's resources were by then insufficient.⁵⁵

Archaeology, Athens 1983, III, Athens 1988, 124–6; J. Binder, “The West Pediment of the Parthenon: Poseidon,” in *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on his 80th birthday*, *GRBM* 10, Durham, NC, 1984, 21–2.

⁵¹ K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*, *TAPhS* 64.3, Philadelphia 1974.

⁵² Aleshire 1994b, 9–16.

⁵³ On the lack of priestly corporate identity and exclusive religious authority, see Garland 1984, 75–123; and on their limited roles in Greece generally, F. Gschnitzer, “Bemerkungen zum Zusammenwirken von Magistraten und Priestern in der griechischen Welt,” *Ktema* 14, 1989, 31–8.

⁵⁴ Frost 1990, 5, supposes that contributions were levied from local landlords in the Archaic period; but before the creation of the demes, what authority would do so? Perhaps to some degree regional cult organizations, which were not congruent with any later political unit, such as the Marathonian Tetrapolis (*IG* ii², 1358; *LSCG*, 20) could have.

⁵⁵ S. Dow, “The Greater Demarchia of Erchia,” *BCH* 89, 1965, 180–213.

The general rule seems to have been that no individual or *genos* furnish the sacrificial animals for cults managed by the city. Spectacular sacrifices by the notables as well as some embellishment of the city are recommended by Aristotle (*Pol.* 1321a) to satisfy the demos and to demonstrate that the costs of office are beyond its means, but these are to be made “on entering office” and are not an ongoing obligation; the rich are overburdened in democracies (*Pol.* 1309a). Tacitly he accepts the polis as the source of sacrifices. Not even the Old Oligarch (Xen. [*Ath. Pol.*] 2.9) claims that the demos imposed this liturgy on the rich. Nor do we hear in Athens of large gifts providing income for sacrifice, such as Nicias made to the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos (Plut. *Nic.* 3). Such gifts had probably been a major source of the gods’ property, whose rental provided continuing income for the ancestral cults (Isoc. 7.49). For the large sacrifices of the Classical period the polis paid the costs from general revenues and was the host and the *sacrifiant*; the demos enjoyed the religious and material benefits that ensued.⁵⁶

Financing the enlarged festivals with increased participation was the chief concern, a role the city had already begun to take on in the Archaic period. With it came stewardship or management and safeguarding the temple treasure and dedications, which, however, were not normally used to meet cult expenses. By the time of the Peloponnesian War the moneys of a large number of cults, of greatly varying wealth and importance, were gathered together on the Acropolis in the care of the Treasurers of the Other Gods, a development that some (but not Tullia Linders) have seen as a response to the threat of invasion.⁵⁷ Beyond attention to the safety of the moneys, the state’s involvement with these cults is not clear, although some had probably long been polis cults. Linders argues that all were, while firmly resisting the view that this in any sense implied secularization of the cult moneys. In general the relations between the state and cults seem to have been piecemeal, in part at least because the Athenians did not think in terms of comprehensive “cult” rather than the elements of festival, sacrifice, sanctuary, property, and so on. The polis intervened as it seemed necessary to secure desirable religious practice, not according to a program or policy.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Rosivach 1994, 122–7, 115–21. The city or a deme might honor a man by providing him with the money for animals to sacrifice and share with his fellows. In effect, he became their delegate to the god (examples in Rosivach 1994, 46). For liturgists providing the rest of the feast see above, note 45.

⁵⁷ T. Linders, *The Treasurers of the Other Gods in Athens and their Functions*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 62, 1975, Meisenheim am Glan.

⁵⁸ Aleshire 1994b; on the problem of the concept of public property, see D. M. Lewis, “Public Property in the City,” in O. Murray and S. Price, eds., *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, Oxford 1990, 245–64. For a contrary view, see Garland 1992, 115.

Finance – money to be spent, collected, or stored, and perquisites in money or kind – is prominent in most inscriptions having to do with cult, as in a long, four-sided inscription erected in the Athenian Eleusinion ca. 460 BC (*IG i³*, 6, especially face C). The responsibilities and perquisites of the priests and the city's officials are set out for a cult that the city was trying energetically to make Panhellenic, and for which a much larger building was being constructed.⁵⁹ It is straining to try to see conflicts between polis and priests here.

But issues other than money could prompt the city to pass a decree about a cult. So in another inscription (*IG i³*, 7) of about the same date, consisting of three short fragments, the demos, at the request of the *genos* of the Praxiargidae, votes to have inscribed the oracle of Apollo confirming their performance of “customary rites” (*nomima*, restored except for the first letter, but probable) in Athena's ritual of the Plynteria as well as their “ancestral privileges” (*patria*).⁶⁰ The *genos* is to do certain things in connection with the robing of the god's statue, and it is to receive certain things. The initiative would appear to come from the *genos*, although this was very likely in order to secure its duties and privileges in response to certain changes (resolutions of the demos prior to the consultation of Apollo may have been included, if the restoration of line 4 is correct).

Much has been made of the terms *nomima* (from the oracular response) and *patria*, as indicating disagreements between the *genos* and the polis and as an assertion of the city's authority over all details of ritual tradition under the control of the *genos*. But we simply do not know enough to build the structure of dissension and legal definition that has been attempted.⁶¹ Mansfield allows that there may have been some dispute concerning the rights of the *genos*, but even that is not required.⁶² Penalties for non-compliance, which have been taken to be an indication of the state's insistence on its authority, have vanished from Mansfield's revised text.

In the angry jostle of Greek public life rivalries and controversies were commonplace, and the sphere of cult was surely no different. The *basileus* “received an individual's complaint over a priesthood and made [presumably, presided over] judgments for *gene* and priests in all disputes over sacred

⁵⁹ Clinton 1994.

⁶⁰ The translations are J. M. Mansfield's, in *The Robe of Athena and the Panathenaic Peplos*, Diss. Berkeley 1985, 366–404, who rejects D. M. Lewis' combination of two of the fragments in “Notes on Attic Inscriptions: I. The Praxiargidae,” *BSA* 49, 1954, 17–21 and *IG i³*, 7.

⁶¹ Ostwald 1986, 145–8; Garland 1992, 101–2: “. . . the Demos' intention . . . to serve notice that henceforth particularly the oldest privileges . . . ultimately depended on its assent.” But cf. the criticism of Robertson 1989, 367–8.

⁶² Mansfield 1985, 366.

matters" (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 57.2), and we hear of disputes between *gene* coming to court in the fourth century (e.g., Lycurg. frag. 7 Konomis 1970; Din. frags. 31, 34, 35, 38, 84). Two branches of the *genos* of the Salaminioi tried by very carefully specifying the rights and obligations of both sides to maintain unity, but eventually recognized each other as separate *gene*.⁶³ Telemachus, the founder of the Athenian cult of Asclepius, mentions a dispute with the Eleusinian *genos* of the Kerykes.⁶⁴ It needs to be stressed, however, that neither in these texts nor, to my knowledge, anywhere else is there explicit mention of conflict between polis and priesthods to control a cult.

That narrative of the development of public religion in Athens is insecure and should not be read into the skimpy remains of the Praxierygiae inscription, in which disputes, if any, may have been with other *gene*, such as the Eteoboutadae and the priestess of Athena. The guiding principle was that since through experience and knowledge, as well as frequent ownership of the relevant space, funds, and symbols, the *gennetai* had the expertise to carry out the appropriate rituals for their specific gods and heroes, it was in the community's interest that they should continue to do so.

The demos, however, started afresh when new priesthods were established. Three priesthods, those of Athena Nike, Bendis, and Asclepius, were chosen by sortition from all Athenians (citizens' wives and daughters in the first two instances). Athena Nike's cult at the entrance to the Acropolis was not new, but her temple and the separation of her priesthood from that of Athena Polias (a plausible surmise) were. Bendis and Asclepius were foreign gods, introduced in the late fifth century (the latter's public priesthood over 60 years later).⁶⁵ Appointment of priests by sortition is entirely in accord with full democratic procedures and dates from after the establishment of these priesthods in the 450s. In time the practice seems to have been adopted by the *gene*, to be combined with a prior selection of a list of candidates, a traditional feature. To whatever degree the notion of divine selection through allotment was thought to operate, there was no particular religious cast to its use here, since the method was a feature of all democratic government. At the same time, we should not see its use as an instrument of democratic policy, since there was no other way new cults instituted by the polis could be assigned priests without showing favor.⁶⁶

⁶³ Ferguson 1938; SEG 21.527, 528; tr. in Rice and Stambaugh 1979, 81–4 (the first text only); LSS 19.

⁶⁴ Clinton 1994, 21, 28–9.

⁶⁵ I. S. Mark, *The Sanctuary of Athena Nike in Athens: Architectural Stages and Chronology*, *AJA Mon. n.s.* 2, *Hesperia* Suppl. 26, Princeton 1993, 106; Aleshire 1994a, 326–7, 327, n. 12, 327, n. 13.

⁶⁶ Cf. B. D. Shaw, "The Paradoxes of People Power," *Helios* 18, 1991, 200.

Cults of the new polis

Cleisthenes' reorganization of the population by recognizing 139 local communities, the demes, grouped into 30 roughly regional *trittyes*, which in turn composed the 10 *phylai* (customarily translated as "tribes"), created new social entities that were at the same time religious corporations.⁶⁷ Aristotle (*Pol.* 1319b) regards as characteristic of democratic reforms such as those of Cleisthenes the creation of new and more numerous *phylai* and phratries, the concentration of private cults into a few public cults, and the breaking up of existing private cult associations by mingling the people as much as possible. Cleisthenes in fact left the phratries and old groups untouched (as Aristotle or a follower recognized in *Ath. Pol.* 21.6), and many of the latter took on new and larger functions under the democracy.

Of the new organizations, what has seemed to moderns the most artificial and purely political, the ten *phylai*, each with three *trittyes* from different parts of Attica (city, inland, and coast), proved remarkably successful in eliminating regional conflict and bringing citizens together in the army, the Council, various commissions, and festival competitions, all of which were organized on the basis of *phylai*. The *phylai* were named after ten heroes, selected by the Pythia at Delphi from a longer list, some, perhaps all, of whom were already the object of cult. But here too the traditional cult groups had their part to play. At least three of the priesthoods were held by men who were not members of that hero's newly constituted *phyle* but presumably belonged to the *genos* that had traditionally maintained the hero's cult. Now, with one-tenth of the whole citizen body attached to the worship of each hero, and the hero's shrine serving as the site and his festival as the occasion for the *phyle's* business, the role of the gentilician priests was greatly enlarged. There could be no more vivid indication of the blending of the old and the new. By the third century BC, most but not all of the priesthoods were no longer gentilician, a change that clearly had not been brought about through comprehensive reform.⁶⁸

The grouping of (mostly) adjacent demes into a *trittys* to form one-third of a *phyle* did not certainly result in new corporate and religious entities. To some degree this may be because regional groupings called *trittyes*, thirds

⁶⁷ E. Kearns, "Change and Continuity in Religious Structures after Cleisthenes," in P. Cartledge and F. D. Harvey, eds., *Crux: Essays Presented to G. E. M. de Ste. Croix on his 75th Birthday*, Exeter 1985, 189–207.

⁶⁸ See especially Kearns 1985, 189–207; and her *The Heroes of Attica*, BICS Suppl. 57, London 1989, 81–92; Aleshire 1994a, 331–2; U. Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen, Mythos, Kult und Darstellungen*, *AthMitt-BH* 5, 1976.

of the four old Ionic *phylai*, already existed (cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 21.3) and continued to perform their religious functions. But this is the most obscure aspect of the reforms.⁶⁹

The basic elements of the new system, on the other hand, the 139 demes, were on the whole highly visible and apparently successful. They were initially local communities, in town as well as in the countryside. Membership in them was to be hereditary through the father, and residence would have no bearing. The fact that descendants of the original members returned to the village or neighborhood for registration as deme members, and hence as citizens, and for the local festivals (probably a highly individual matter), assured the continued vitality of the demes as communities throughout the life of the democracy. The substantial remains of cult calendars inscribed on stone for three of the demes provide a rare insight into the ritual year of small communities.⁷⁰

The cultic program of the deme seems to have been parallel to but largely independent of the polis.⁷¹ Representatives of the deme of Erchia made sacrifice at a number of polis sanctuaries in the city on one day of the year, the 12th of Metageitnion (Apollo Lykeios, Athena Polias, Zeus Polieus, and

⁶⁹ Lewis 1963, 35 speaks of *trittyes* as retaining property (*IG* ii², 2490) and cults (*IG* i³, 255, 258 [i², 190; ii², 1172]). The first case is of the leasing of real property of a *trittys* whose identity is not known. As for cult, an unknown authority issues a calendar and determines perquisites in what looks to be a rather extensive list of divinities, the object of both public and private cult, in the fragmentary *IG* i³, 255. A *trittys* (in the dative) is mentioned (A 9) but the context is lost. *IG* i³, 258, is inscribed by the deme of Plotheia and refers (30–1) to money for sacrifices to be contributed to the Plotheians (the deme itself), the Epakreis, and the Athenians (i.e., cults of the polis). Lewis 1963, 27 noted a pre-Cleisthenic *trittys*, Epakria, in Philochorus (*FGRH* 328 F 206); cf. Parker 1987, 140. As a cult organization there is the pre-Cleisthenic *trittys* of the Leukotainioi, alongside the old *phyle* Gleontes in the revised sacrificial calendar of the city (*LSS* 10, 35–7; J. H. Oliver, “The American Excavations in the Athenian Agora, 6th report, Greek inscriptions, Nos. 1–36,” *Hesperia* 4, 1935, 19–32, no. 2). The continuing existence of a pre-Cleisthenic cult organization that did not coincide with Cleisthenic groupings is seen in the sacrificial calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis, which included sacrifices for the Tetrapolis and for each of the four demes, from two different Cleisthenic *phylai*, that composed it (*LSCG* 20; *IG* ii², 1358). It is possible that the most recently discovered sacrificial calendar, which has been attributed to the deme of Thoricus, is also that of a larger regional grouping (*SEG* 23.147; G. Daux, “Le calendrier de Thorikos au Musée J. Paul Getty,” *L’AntCl* 52, 1984, 150–74 = “Sacrifices à Thorikos,” *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12, 1983, 45–52). No actual reference to the Thoricians or the deme is preserved on the stone. The office of *euthunos* is known to have existed at the level of the state (Andoc. 1.78) and the demes. See Whitehead, 1986a, 116–19, 194.

⁷⁰ For our purposes the better-preserved deme calendars are most useful, since they suggest what is omitted as well as what is included: (1) Thoricus ca. 430–420(?), Daux 1983; *SEG* 23.147; (2) Erchia, second quarter of the fourth century, *SEG* 21.541; *LSCG* 18; (3) Marathon, mid-fourth century, the best-preserved of the four demes represented in the calendar of the Tetrapolis, *IG* ii², 1358; *LSCG* 20.

⁷¹ See especially Mikalson 1977, 424–35; Whitehead 1986a, 176–222; Parker 1987; Kearns 1989, 92–102.

Demeter), and the deme sent a sheep to Zeus Meilichius at Agrae on 23rd Anthesterion, as Thoricus may also have done. There are also some echoes of city rituals in the deme, either in imitation of the city or as part of a common tradition, but the deme did not replicate the city's cults.⁷² Not surprisingly, most of the cults are minor (some of the more important having been taken up by the state in the Archaic period, e.g., Artemis at Brauron and Poseidon at Sunium) and local, scattered around the map of the deme and sometimes beyond its limits (Mount Hymettus for the Erchians, Poseidon at Sunium for Thoricus). Not a few cults are unattested elsewhere. Generally the cults affirm the attachment of the members of the deme to their territory and, in the rural demes, to the rhythms of agriculture and pastoralism that are obscured to some degree in the city's great festivals of Athena and Dionysus, although not in the Eleusinian Mysteries. The Eleusinian gods are not absent from the demes, but in two instances at least they seem to have been attended to separately and not necessarily by the deme itself.⁷³

The spare listings of the calendars do not, of course, tell us anything about the connotations, myths, and local traditions associated with each sacrifice or festival, as Robert Parker reminds us,⁷⁴ and most of this cannot be recovered. The demes differed in their traditions and patterns of cult practice. Thus, compared to Erchia, the members of the Marathonian Tetrapolis had fewer sacrifices but with larger victims on the whole (Erchia sacrificed no cattle) and used a schedule of biennial as well as annual sacrifice, as did the revised cult calendar of the city. To be sure, Erchia may also have had a biennial or quadrennial schedule in the missing Lesser Demarchia implied in the title of the preserved Greater Demarchia, as suggested by Jon Mikalson.⁷⁵ Different motives seem to have been behind the erection of the stones carrying the calendars. Erchia's was manifestly financial, and this was probably true of the Tetrapolis as well, where the coexistence of deme and Tetrapolis responsibilities may have created a need for precision. At Thoricus costs and days were mostly unspecified. Clarification of responsibility for gods and victims had precedence here. Perhaps, as with the Tetrapolis, the coexistence of demes and a larger network in southeast Attica created the need.

Few of the deme's cultic responsibilities are likely to antedate Cleisthenes' establishment of the deme as a political unit. Some of the larger demes and those based on distinct, old communities, such as Acharnae or Rhamnous,

⁷² Mikalson 1977; R. G. Osborne, *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attica*, Cambridge 1985, 178–81; Parker 1987, 143.

⁷³ At Paiania: *IG* i³, 250, *LSS* 18; at Phrearrhioi: E. Vanderpool, "A *Lex Sacra* of the Attic Deme Phrearrhioi," *Hesperia* 39, 1970, 47–53.

⁷⁴ Parker 1987. ⁷⁵ Mikalson 1977, 427–8.

may have already begun to coordinate their local cults, although I suspect the old *trittyes* were more active and may have provided a model in this regard for the demes. There the collaboration of local families of the community meeting together as demesmen mirrored the practical experience with democracy that was underway in the city at the level of the polis. Robin Osborne stresses the polis as model in general for the deme.⁷⁶ Religion was no small part of the deme's, and democracy's, business.

Inscribing religion

Our knowledge of religion in the demes comes mainly from inscriptions. But of all their decrees and laws, the Athenians published only a small selection by inscribing them on stone for erection in a public place.⁷⁷ Most having to do with religion focus on a single cult, such as the decrees of the demos on Athena Nike, Hephaestus, the first fruits for Eleusis, or the responsibilities of a particular community (such as the local calendars already discussed). The sacrificial calendars of the polis itself are much less well preserved. At the end of the fifth century a general review and recording of laws and ritual prescriptions took place, and the results were set up in the Stoa Basileus in the Agora.⁷⁸

The very recording of such calendars implies some change from traditional custom.⁷⁹ Selection, expansion, and contraction were inevitable, but changes were not always made smoothly. The revision of the city's miscellaneous prescriptions on cult was the occasion of controversy. A member of the commission preparing the revisions (Nicomachus) charges the speaker in Lysias 30 with impiety because of the speaker's opposition to an expansion of sacrifices, and the speaker himself charges Nicomachus with allegedly omitting some of the traditional sacrifices. But, despite this rhetoric, Nicomachus and his fellows were not on trial for impiety, and Lysias' speech is notable for how little light it sheds on religious practice of the time.

⁷⁶ Osborne 1994; cf. Whitehead 1986a, 176–222.

⁷⁷ For the preservation of Solonian or at least old laws painted on wood, see R. S. Stroud, *The Axones and Kyrbeis of Drakon and Solon*, University of California Publications in Classical Studies 19, Berkeley 1978.

⁷⁸ M. H. Hansen, "Solonian Democracy in Fourth Century Athens," in Connor *et al.* 1990; R. F. Healey, *Eleusinian Sacrifices in the Athenian Law Code*, New York 1990; some fragments in LSS 10; the state of modern controversies over the problems in N. Robertson, "The Laws of Athens, 410–399 BC: The Evidence for Review and Publication," *JHS* 110, 1990, 43–75; P. J. Rhodes, "The Athenian Code of Law, 410–399 BC," *JHS* 111, 1991, 87–100.

⁷⁹ On the transition from gentilician religious traditions to laws of the city, see Ostwald 1986.

Nicomachus and the commission believed, correctly for all we know, that the *demos* would support their changes.

The fragments of the calendar itself are invaluable. In addition to dealing with the expected city cults, such as the Synoecia,⁸⁰ they show careful attention to minor, ancient cults and their functionaries, such as the pre-Cleisthenic *phylai* and *trittyes*, as well as the important Eumolpid *genos*. These are mainly cults that did not involve large-scale participation and display, but for which the proper sacrifice of the right victim by the right priest on the right day was agreed by all to be essential to the city's well-being.⁸¹ The fragments leave no doubt about the range of cults for whose finances and performance the city had assumed responsibility by the end of the fifth century. The very fact that so many disparate cults were now listed side by side for all to see in one public building would surely have affected how the Athenians conceived their religion. The inscribed, published calendars did, indeed, create new frameworks, but later than the suggested late Archaic date.⁸²

Further innovation

Greek religion, like other polytheistic systems, was not static but always modifying, elaborating, and innovating. Writing down the details made what was happening clearer. Although old cults may never have been abandoned deliberately, some loss was inevitable unless continuous and reliable institutional backing was in place. The adoption of new cults was continual, not least under the democracy. The Athenians, according to Strabo (10.3.18), were as hospitable to the gods as they were in every other respect. Some likely imports certainly antedate the fifth century. Artemis Agrotera was at home in Athens before Marathon, and in gratitude for the victory she was given an annual sacrifice of 500 she-goats in perpetuity. But it was the Spartans, not the Athenians, who regularly sacrificed to her before battle. At some point she seems to have been brought to Attica.⁸³ The Dioscuri, beneficiaries of a tax on shipping near the beginning of the Peloponnesian

⁸⁰ N. Robertson, *Festivals and Legends: The Formation of Greek Cities in the Light of Public Ritual*, *Phoenix* Suppl. 31, 1992, 32–89.

⁸¹ According to Rosivach 1994, 54–5, these sacrifices are *patrioi* as opposed to *epithetoi*, “added,” a process that began before the democracy; cf. Isoc. 7.29; Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 3.3.

⁸² Davies 1988, 376.

⁸³ M. H. Jameson, “Sacrifice before Battle,” in V. D. Hanson, ed., *Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience*, London 1991, 197–227 (Chapter 6, this volume, pp. 98–126).

War (*IG* i³, 133), were well known in Attica and already established with the same Spartan name of the *Anake* in the city's old town hall, the Prytaneion.⁸⁴ About the same time they are found in the calendar of Thoricus, as is Helen (Daux 1983; *SEG* 23.147). At the end of the fifth century they are mentioned in the inland deme of Plotheia (*IG* i³, 258.6), and again in the next century at Erchia (*SEG* 21.541; *LSCG* 18, col. 4.49). More recent immigrants are Theseus from Troizen,⁸⁵ and with him, very likely, Hippolytus and an Aphrodite, installed on the south slope of the Acropolis.⁸⁶ Hippolytus's funds are listed by the Treasurers of the Other Gods before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (*IG* i³, 383.233–4; cult at more than one place may be suggested by his presence in the sacrificial calendar, *IG* i³, 255.6). Leukaspis, apparently of Sicilian origin, is found in the deme of Erchia in the fourth century; we have no idea when he arrived.⁸⁷

Besides the cults that were part of the new or modified structure of the polis, the cults known or suspected not to have existed in Attica before the democracy are a motley group, including those of the Tyrannicides as heroes, Bendis, Asclepius, Adonis, Kotyto, and Sabazius. Cults that became more prominent under the democracy but that were perhaps already known in Attica include those of Pan, Theseus, Hephaestus, and Poseidon with the epithet Erechtheus. This last is a reminder of the scope for differentiation through the use of epithets. For example, Themistocles established a shrine of Artemis Aristoboule (“of Good Counsel”), no doubt an allusion to his own service to Athens as a giver of good counsel, an act of self-promotion that was not imitated (Plut. *Them.* 22.1–2; *Mor.* 869C–D).⁸⁸ Any list of epithets of Zeus, Athena, Apollo, or Artemis at Athens reveals the dimensions of this resource, although many refer to the place of worship.⁸⁹

Some of the new or newly prominent figures are conspicuously patriotic: the Tyrannicides, who were seen as paving the way for the democracy,⁹⁰ Theseus and Poseidon (after Salamis), Themistocles' Artemis Aristoboule,

⁸⁴ Chionides *apud* Ath. 4.137E; *PCG* IV, frag. 7. The tax was hardly “a desperate last-minute bid” to secure good will and “neutralise the twins’ age-old antipathy towards Athens for Theseus’ abduction of their sister Helen,” as suggested by Garland 1992, 111.

⁸⁵ H. A. Shapiro, “Theseus, Athens and Troizen,” *AA* 1982, 291–7.

⁸⁶ Pers. comm., Dr. Judith Binder.

⁸⁷ *SEG* 21.541; *LSCG* 18, col. 3.48–53; Jameson *et al.*, 1993, 109.

⁸⁸ See Garland 1992, 74–80, 151, who, however, exaggerates in thinking that Themistocles outraged Athenian religious feelings as much as Socrates and thereby contributed to his own expulsion. The cult was still active in the later fourth century: Whitehead 1986a, 79 n. 54.

⁸⁹ E.g., S. Solders, *Die ausserstädtlichen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas*, Diss. Lund 1931. Apollo is sacrificed to under four different epithets over two days, 7th and 8th Gamelion, at Erchia: *SEG* 21.541; *LSCG* 18.

⁹⁰ Castriota 1998, 197–216.

and Athena Nike. Theseus was also given the role of *synoikistes*, the unifier of Attica. Needless to say, the exaltation of Athena had nothing to do with democracy as such, although much to do with the cohesion of a large and easily fragmented population; the manner of her worship, with increased participation, was another matter. Pan was made an ally through Pheidippides' story of an encounter with him before Marathon; there may have been other reasons as well for his popularity.⁹¹ The Athenians had good reason to think that the gods had favored them, and when they attributed their victory at Salamis to the gods it was most decidedly not "merely another way of saying it was due to the extremely high morale and discipline of the Athenians."⁹²

Other cults reflect the diverse tendencies of the large and complex city Classical Athens had become. Hephaestus, who was given a temple to share with Athena and a new or greatly enlarged festival (*IG* i³, 82), has been thought to represent the rising influence of the artisan class.⁹³ His association with Lemnos, where Athens had a strong interest, may have been a factor.⁹⁴ An earlier import from Asia Minor, the Mother of the Gods, is a rather staid figure in Athens, with none of the danger attached to her that so alarmed the Romans later. Her shrine in the city became by the end of the fifth century the repository for the state archives (*GGR* 725–7).

Private initiative is conspicuous in the introduction of Asclepius in 421 and 420, whose welcome is not surprising in a city still recovering from the effects of the plague (Thuc. 3.87). Kevin Clinton's study of a new fragment of an inscription and re-examination of a familiar text have done much to clarify the chronology and the respective roles of the private citizen Telemachus and the Eleusinian *gene* in inviting the Epidaurian priests and the god's image, minus snake, to the city Eleusinion.⁹⁵

How Telemachus succeeded in bringing the statue from the city Eleusinion, under the noses of the Eleusinian priests, to a shrine on the south slope

⁹¹ P. Bourgeaud, *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece*, trans. K. Atlass and J. Redfield, Chicago 1988, 133–62, argues that his cult represents the city man's construction of the wild, and Osborne 1985, 191–2, suggests that Pan "stands for the countryside of the mind," rather than either the movement of country men into the city or a sign of "centralised authority extending its influence upon the outlying districts." Garland 1992, 61–3 constructs a political scenario: Pan is an example of "a cult that was lobbying for enhanced prestige" [Who did the lobbying? Was there even a priest?], while "Artemis . . . was in a strong position to back Pan's claims to public worship."

⁹² Garland 1992, 63.

⁹³ Burkert 1992a, 260; Garland 1992, 110. If the inscription recorded the provisions for a single festival for the dedication of the temple, as suggested by Rosivach 1994, 154, it would be without parallel for this period.

⁹⁴ Parker 1994, 346. ⁹⁵ Clinton 1994, 17–34.

of the Acropolis remains unclear. Authorization for some of these steps from the demos may have been necessary, very likely reinforced by an oracle, as Clinton notes, since the new god impinged on existing cults and spaces. But the cult was not yet supported or managed by the state.

The comic poets and orators assure us of the presence of disreputable foreign gods in Athens as well. Their ridicule in Aristophanes' comedies has been described (on the basis of Cic. *Leg.* 2.15.37) as follows: "Sabazios and other foreign trash are . . . unceremoniously kicked out of Athens," and this was "valuable group therapy for the poet's audience, many of whom were no doubt fed up with playing to a sundry assortment of divine ne'er do wells."⁹⁶ The clichés of modern chauvinism may, indeed, be the best way to capture Aristophanes' bile, but, granting their vulgarity, how do we suppose Adonis, Sabazius (who survived, or returned, to be mocked by Demosthenes [18.259–60]), and Kotyto gained their footholds? Surely not by decrees of the demos. Another disreputable example: wandering oracle mongers, despised by the comic poets but never short of clients, plied their trade widely and notoriously bilked the credulous.⁹⁷ Clearly they did not draw their authority from an approved list of supernatural figures. Rather, it seems that private initiative and an absence of a state apparatus made possible considerable freedom of religious practice, whatever laws may have been on the books.⁹⁸

This brings us to a larger question. It is generally agreed that the permission of the demos was required to establish a new cult, and that violators could be prosecuted for impiety, *asebeia*, and put to death.⁹⁹ This is not the place to discuss the question fully, but it is worth noting that those cases that certainly or most probably were based on historical fact all involved other charges as well. The most famous, the charge of impiety against Socrates,

⁹⁶ Garland 1992, 150. Sabazius was worshipped primarily by women, slaves, and members of the lower classes, according to Ostwald 1992, 314; the evidence in *GGR*, 725–8, 831–9.

⁹⁷ N. D. Smith, "Diviners and Divination in Aristophanic Comedy," *ClAnt* 8, 1989, 140–58.

⁹⁸ The difficulty of controlling private piety is seen in a codicil to a decree on first fruits for the Eleusinian gods: *ML*, 73.54–9; Fornara, 140; *IG* i³, 78. The problem of unauthorized erection of altars in the Pelargikon, on the slopes of the Acropolis, is to be addressed. Evidently altars were being erected by private persons or groups on a conspicuous stretch of public property whose boundaries are now to be made clearer. What must we suppose went on elsewhere? Plato, *Leg.* 909e–910b, sees houses and villages full of shrines (*hiera*) established because of dreams or fearsome encounters, especially by women and the sick, whereas for him the founding of shrines is a difficult matter, to be planned carefully.

⁹⁹ E. Derenne, *Les procès d'impiété intentés aux philosophes à Athènes au V^e et au IV^e siècles avant J-C*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège 45, Liège 1930; J. Rudhardt, "Le délit d'impiété d'après la législation attique," *MusHelv* 17, 1960, 87–105; Clinton 1994, 24–5.

was in two parts, that he did not recognize the gods of the city and introduced instead other new supernatural beings, and this was joined to the charge that he corrupted the youth (Favorinus *apud* Diog. Laert. 2.40; cf. Pl. *Ap.* 24b; Xen. *Mem.* 1.1.1; *Ap.* 10).

Three separate trials are mentioned of women (two certainly foreign) for introducing foreign gods in the fourth century. All three are said to have organized orgiastic *thiasoi*, but in each case other charges are also reported: conducting a rout in the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios, giving love potions to young men, turning slaves against their masters, and, most seriously, imitating and mocking the true, that is, Eleusinian, Mysteries.¹⁰⁰ It is evident that the women were not condemned simply by the application of a law against the introduction of foreign gods, any more than was Socrates. Josephus (*Ap.* 2.267), who was mostly interested in the attacks on Socrates and other philosophers but refers to the law and one of the women, drew the logical conclusion that the Athenians could not have believed in the reality of gods other than their own, or they would not have deprived themselves of their benefit. Since the conclusion while logical is palpably untrue, we would do well to ponder the intent of the law and to ask how it was actually used, notably, in fact, against women.

Even if we are skeptical about the application of a law against introducing new gods, the ferocity of Athenian punishments for impiety would effectively dispose of any notion that democratic Athenians were committed to religious tolerance. There was nothing in principle to prevent the demos from intervening against any activity it might regard as harmful, but it is worth asking just how, practically, in the absence of church and clergy, or texts and doctrine, a sprawling, amorphous polytheism was controlled. Precise charges against particular acts of impiety (*asebeia*), largely concerning the use of sacred space and property, are well attested.¹⁰¹ If money or land were wanted from the city, a decision of the demos obviously was necessary, and if non-citizens wanted to devote land to a god's cult (it is not evident that worship in rented quarters was improper) an exemption from the restriction of land ownership was required (e.g., *IG* ii², 337 for the Aphrodite of the Kitians). But if private persons or a *genos*, or for that matter a deme or a regional grouping such as the Tetrapolis, chose to offer sacrifice to a new figure or an old with a new epithet, should we suppose that a license had to be obtained? Or did magistrates or neighbors keep watch and report

¹⁰⁰ P. Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs: thiasos, éranes, orgéones*, Paris 1873, 127–37; Derenne 1930, 217–36.

¹⁰¹ Rudhardt 1960.

on “new cults”? Consider the difficulty of telling to whom someone was sacrificing in a religion in which images and distinctive paraphernalia were not indispensable. If one heard of Zeus being addressed with an unfamiliar epithet, how could one tell that it was not traditional in another part of Attica, or if it was an epithet that a much-traveled Athenian had learned in a cleruchy?¹⁰²

It is more than likely that Athenians added foreign gods to their repertoire while living among foreigners, as many did. The official recognition of the Thracian goddess Bendis, who was already being worshipped by Thracian residents in Athens, has been commonly seen as a move to curry favor with a Thracian king.¹⁰³ It is hard to imagine why a Thracian king’s heart would be touched in this way. This seems, rather, to exemplify what Ian Morris has recently dubbed “the propagandistic fallacy.”¹⁰⁴ We would do better to look to the religious appeal of the goddess, some aspects of whose cult were novel and apparently attractive, such as the institution of the torch race on horseback, admired by Socrates (Pl. *Resp.* 327a, 328a), and to the numerous contacts between Athenians and Thracians both at home and abroad.¹⁰⁵ Martin Nilsson however, simply asserts that “there is nothing to indicate that she had any real religious importance.”¹⁰⁶

In practice, most Athenians and foreigners in Attica seem to have pursued their worship in their own way, with interference only when they seemed to offend traditional piety or endanger the city’s relations with the established gods. Thucydides’ Pericles (2.37.2) may not have been exaggerating greatly when he speaks of the Athenians’ tolerance of their neighbors’ habits. Practically, Athens was a relatively open society. The influx of goods, people, and ideas as a result of its wide contacts encountered few barriers.¹⁰⁷ The rationalism of the visiting intellectuals catches our attention, but alongside it

¹⁰² Alciphron (*Farmers’ Letters* 2.8.1–2), late but entirely derivative from Classical sources, has an exasperated country man complain that he has no place on his farm to put up shrines for all the new *daemones* his wife has introduced, and that he cannot keep track of all their names, although he mentions the Attic Coliades and Genetyllides. They are a nuisance whatever their origin, and illegality is not an issue.

¹⁰³ M. P. Nilsson, “Bendis in Athen,” in *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* III, Copenhagen 1942, 170–4 (repr. 1952, *Opuscula Selecta*, III, *ActaAth* 8⁰–2:3, Stockholm, 55–80); M. P. Nilsson, *Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece*, Lund 1951, 41–5. Garland 1992, 112 agrees, calling it “a remarkable but by no means unique example of the influence of foreign policy on domestic worship,” but he adduces no other example in the Classical period. Vigorous support is conjured up from the priesthood of Artemis Munychia.

¹⁰⁴ I. Morris, “Poetics of Power: The Interpretation of Ritual Action in Archaic Greece,” in C. Dougherty and L. Kurke, eds., *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece*, Cambridge 1993, 23.

¹⁰⁵ Burkert 1992a, 262. ¹⁰⁶ M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Folk Religion*, New York 1940, 93.

¹⁰⁷ Ostwald 1992.

came a rich bounty of myth and ritual, more congenial, we may well believe, to most Athenians. As long as the Athenians were confident of their own rich tradition and willing to consider and employ what came their way from other Greeks and non-Greeks, all symbolic expression – religion, mythology, and the major arts – flourished. We will consider shortly whether that confidence was shaken, and what the consequences may have been.

Cleisthenes or Pericles?

Are the democratic features we see in Classical Athenian religion the product of the Cleisthenic reforms at the end of the sixth century or of the initiation of the full democracy shortly before the mid-fifth century? That is, do they favor the Josiah Ober or Kurt Raaflaub view on the decisive moment for the genesis of the democracy?¹⁰⁸ On the date when the scale of citizen participation in public cult increases significantly, we can only speculate. The construction of the Theater of Dionysus around 500 BC is suggestive. While Cleisthenes was the author of the change in the organization that created and made important both *deme* and *phyle*, it seems likely that it took at least a generation or more for them to become fully effective as social units. The record of the state's increased involvement in cult begins close in time to the second phase, the reforms initiated by Ephialtes. That is also the time of the building program on the Acropolis and the first indications of Athens' attempts to include the empire in its main festivals, by requiring a cow and panoply to be sent for the Great Panathenaea, a phallus for the City Dionysia, and first fruits for the Eleusinian gods. The chronology of these requirements is not altogether certain, but there is nothing to suggest they were promulgated before the full democracy, at the time when many see the Delian League being converted into the Athenian Empire.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ J. Ober, "Revolution Matters," and K. A. Raaflaub, "Power in the Hands of the People," and "The Thetes and Democracy: Response to J. Ober," in Morris and Raaflaub 1998, 67–85, 31–66 and 87–103.

¹⁰⁹ B. Smarczyk, *Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik und politischen Propaganda Athens im Delisch-Attischen Seebund*, Munich 1990, provides a very thorough study of the imperial context of Athenian cult. Cf. also Garland 1992, 98, although the notion that Theseus, "as child-molester" because of his rape of Helen "provided the Athenians with an exact paradigm of their own complex and ambivalent moral position," strikes me as bizarre. For the iconography of the Athena Nike parapet in the light of Athens' confident imperialism, see M. H. Jameson, "The Ritual of the Athena Nike Parapet," in R. G. Osborne and S. Hornblower, eds., *Ritual, Finance, Politics: Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*, Oxford 1994, 307–24 (Chapter 7 this volume, pp. 127–44). It should be noted that there was some reciprocity between Athens and the other poleis; cf. the gift of a cypress log to

Empire or democracy?

Was it then the empire rather than democracy that fueled the religious vitality of Classical Athens? A case has been made that the construction of the Parthenon, for instance, was not directly paid for by tribute from the empire,¹¹⁰ but that still leaves open the likelihood that the moneys collected and stored on the Acropolis allowed the Athenians to spend other resources on the building program. More generally, the wealth and prestige that stemmed from Athens' position as leader of over 200 poleis, mostly small but some large, encouraged the ambition to adorn the city with temples and to enlarge and enrich the gods' festivals. Increased participation and the polis' role as host and sacrificer (*sacrifiant*) are in accord with the democratic ethos but would not be entirely inconceivable in even an oligarchic state, given the resources. The democratic functioning of the demes, more perhaps a factor of Attic geography than democratic ideology, might seem less distinctive if we had comparable information for other city-states.

The argument is sometimes made that since the democratic institutions endured into the fourth century without the help of the empire, they were not dependent upon the empire and were not its product, and the same point could be made about the organization of ritual. But once a pattern is established in a society it may survive the forces that created it. Disentangling the external from the internal factors that produced Classical Athens may not be possible. Whatever weight we assign to the various causes, the result was a complex and variegated culture, one not easily described in conventional terms, ancient or modern.

The decline of religion?

Change is often seen in fifth-century religion, but not always in a positive light. Chester Starr, restating Nilsson's view,¹¹¹ says that "religious feeling gave way to feelings of patriotism and to display in festivals and sacrifices. The state gods . . . became more remote."¹¹² How we are to measure the

Athena Polias (under her outward-looking title of Athena Athenon Medeousa) by the Eteocarpinthians, now seen to date from the 430s or 420s (*IG* i³, 1454). To be sure, the Eteocarpinthian act was political: in their position they saw the goddess, as well as her city, as powerful and important. I hope to discuss this inscription at greater length elsewhere.

¹¹⁰ L. Kallet-Marx, "Did Tribute Fund the Parthenon?" *ClAnt* 8, 1989, 252–66.

¹¹¹ Nilsson 1940, 87.

¹¹² C. G. Starr, "Religion and Patriotism in Fifth-century Athens," in T. E. Gregory and A. G. Podlecki, eds., *Panathenaia: Studies in Athenian Life and Thought in the Classical Age*, Lawrence, KN 1979, 21.

degree of genuine piety toward Athena is not clear. Inscriptions recording votive offerings to her stop after the mid-fifth century but resume in the fourth.¹¹³ (There are, however, uncertainties in dating by the forms of letters that may have kept some dates too high, and by the use of the Ionic alphabet, which may have lowered other dates too far.) This may be due in part to a deliberate decision that space be reserved for the city's gifts. In the fifth century the records of the treasury of Athena are laconic, but private gifts begin to be mentioned again in 398/7 BC (*IG* ii², 1388). Modest votive offerings would not have been accompanied by inscriptions or recorded in temple accounts. Disenchantment with the goddess or distancing from her is not proved by this kind of evidence.

Another measure might be the popularity of other cults, such as that of the respectable Asclepius, as suggested by Nilsson and Starr, or of the disreputable or less respectable barbarian gods. It is not surprising that in the more complex society of Classical Athens, the city goddess no longer filled the role of fertility goddess and all-purpose protective deity. Specialization characterized divine as well as human roles. Popular as Asclepius became, he too was a specialist and should not be converted into the heir of the Archaic Athena or a proto-Christ on the basis of his kindlier iconography. The acceptance by the city of the Thracian Bendis (whose Athenian cult does not appear exotic in our sources) and the quest for new gods in general is seen by Walter Burkert as "beginning to reflect uncertainties of identity."¹¹⁴ For others, however, the immigrant Sabazius and Kotyto, at least, are restricted to marginal elements in the society, finding their devotees "primarily among women, slaves and members of the lower classes [not, presumably, the mass of the demos]."¹¹⁵ If that conclusion is right – and it is a picture that relies heavily on the scorn of comedy – these deities have little bearing on the problems citizens were having with their own identity. The growth of magic, especially among the lower classes, has also been cited as a symptom of religious regression, a view that is shaped largely by the nature of the sources and our own definition of magic.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ J. Mikalson, *Athenian Popular Religion*, Chapel Hill, NC 1983, 115–17.

¹¹⁴ Burkert 1992a, 262. ¹¹⁵ Ostwald 1992, 314; cf. *GGR*, 831–9.

¹¹⁶ One often encounters the notion of an inverse correlation between religion and magic: the more magic there is in a society, the less it is truly religious, or the more decadent its religion has become. It has long been supposed that the Greeks became exposed to the magic of the Near East in the Hellenistic era, and that their traditional religion was thereby corrupted. The beginning of the rot is seen in the earliest lead curse tablet and "voodoo doll" found in Attica in the late fifth century (so Burkert 1992a, 266). But in recent years it has been shown that knowledge of Near Eastern magic as well as other ritual had long been familiar in Greece (cf. C. A. Faraone, "The Agonistic Context of Early Greek Binding Spells," in C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink, eds., *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, New York 1991, 3–32;

The case for traditional piety being as solid in the fourth century as it had been in the fifth has been made forcefully by Mikalson; Starr would agree so long as this means “genuine religion,” not the cult of Athena in the Parthenon.¹¹⁷ The question is not so much whether the strength of traditional religion declined, as why the perception by – it must be said – the most learned and sympathetic of modern scholars has been of crisis, superstition, and a return to the irrational. What underlies these divergent and sometimes contradictory attempts to catch the spirit of the time is a sense of the fracturing of what had been a coherent and, it is thought, relatively enlightened society, with the lower classes turning to orgiastic foreign rites and to magic while the “educated” upper classes distanced themselves from traditional and popular religion.¹¹⁸ Euripides’ *Bacchae* has served as a paradigm: the leader of an ecstatic foreign cult casts a spell upon the women and is rejected and attacked by civil authority, while the religious expert and the old political hand come up with reasons for accommodation. But Euripides, of course, has told his audience from the beginning that the god is only coming home.

Most commonly, however, the decline is attributed to the enlightenment itself, the teaching of the sophists and philosophers, which is thought to have undermined the authority of religion and the faith of ordinary people and consequently to have been the cause of popular hostility.¹¹⁹ This is said to be confirmed by a rash of trials for impiety in the later fifth century, an indication that the Athenians were fearful that they had lost divine support because of the new, foreign, or even atheistic doctrines promulgated by intellectuals. Kenneth Dover, however, has demonstrated that ancient talk about impiety trials reveals more about the tradition of ancient biography and of the history of philosophical schools than about fifth-century history.¹²⁰ The new intellectuals, native and foreign, may have been resented by other leading lights in the society (perhaps especially by the experts on religion), but little was done about them.

Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual, New York 1992, 114–17; and especially Burkert 1992b), and, if the truth be told, that there were inextricable “magical” elements in Greek religion from as early as we can see it. For Athens, Faraone 1991a has discussed an allusion to a judicial binding spell at Aesch. *Eum.* 306, close to the moment when the democracy came of age. Plato’s condemnation of such practices in the *Laws* (933a) shows how commonplace they were. They may not be conducive to an elevated view of Athenian religion, but they are hardly a mark of recent decay. Moreover, magic and religion are not usually in competition; insofar as they are separable, they occupy different and often complementary niches (cf. K. Thomas *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, New York 1971, 636–40).

¹¹⁷ Mikalson 1983; Starr 1979.

¹¹⁸ E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley 1951, 179–95.

¹¹⁹ Burkert 1992a, 246–7; Ostwald 1992, 368; Garland 1992, 99.

¹²⁰ K. J. Dover, “The Freedom of the Intellectual in Greek Society,” *Talanta* 7, 1976, 24–54.

There has been reluctance to accept Dover's conclusions. A recent essay, however, by Robert Wallace, largely agrees with him.¹²¹ While stressing the various motivations that lay behind attacks on individuals, Wallace takes the discussion further by showing through an analysis of the ostracism of Damon, the musical theorist and friend of Pericles, that the safety of the polis rather than the danger from freedom of speech and thought in religious matters was the major factor. This is clearly relevant to the most famous and drastic case, that of Socrates.

That political and "cultural" factors (e.g., the Lacedaemonian guise of young members of the elite) were extremely important or decisive in his condemnation is inescapable.¹²² And yet half the formal charge was that Socrates did not recognize the gods of the city and introduced instead other, new supernatural beings. This was despite the fact that these new beings boil down to Socrates' personal *daimonion* rather than an actual cult, but all the more offensive, perhaps, because of their perceived anti-social character.¹²³

Robert Connor has suggested that Socrates' critical attitude toward the central act of Greek religion, animal sacrifice, was at the heart of the perception of him as a threat to the well-being of the community.¹²⁴ He notes the passages in Plato (*Euthphr.* 14d–15a) and Xenophon (*Mem.* 1.3.3; cf. [Pl.] *Alc.* II 149b) that show Socrates' disapproval of the vulgar view that the favor of the gods depends on the scale of sacrifice offered to them, and, more profoundly, that there can be such a thing as a reciprocal relationship between men and gods. Positive examples of sacrifice, even the enigmatic cock vowed to Asclepius (Pl. *Phd.* 118a), have little place in Plato before the *Laws*. But Xenophon is insistent that Socrates was dutiful in private and public sacrifice (*Mem.* 1.1.2; 1.2.64–3.1), not a matter on which his insensitivity to the subtle would have misled him, and no explicit criticism of Socrates in this respect is preserved.¹²⁵ Rather than obvious neglect of ritual or flaunting of his disdain for it, Socrates' criticism of the common expectations of sacrifice is more likely to have been an element in the hostility that resulted in his indictment. But it was less the specifics of his questioning than a lifetime of eccentricity combined with the circumstances of 399 BC that first put the intellectual critic at risk and then brought about his death.

¹²¹ R. Wallace, "Private Lives and Public Enemies: Freedom of Thought in Classical Athens," in A. L. Boegehold and A. C. Scafuro, eds., *Athenian Identity and Civic Ideology*, Baltimore 1994, 127–55.

¹²² W. R. Connor, "The Other 399: Religion and the Trial of Socrates," in M. A. Flower and M. Toher, eds., *Georgica: Greek Studies in Honor of George Cawkwell*, BICS Suppl. 58, London 1991, 49–56.

¹²³ Garland 1992, 149. ¹²⁴ Connor 1991.

¹²⁵ M. L. McPherran, "Socratic Piety in the *Euthyphro*," *JHPh* 23, 1985, 305.

Criticism of conventional ritual, as of various aspects of traditional religion and mythology (by Xenophanes and Heraclitus, for example), had been endemic to Greek religion long before there were philosophers or sophists. Hesiod's story of Prometheus in the *Theogony* (535–616) demonstrates and exploits a paradox in animal sacrifice. Repudiation of offerings requiring bloodshed had a long history, more explicit and radical than what we find in Plato.¹²⁶ Plato's objection to rewards from the gods for services rendered may, in fact, have Pythagorean antecedents.¹²⁷ More study is needed, following the lead of Sarah Humphreys,¹²⁸ of the place in the community in Classical Greece of the intelligentsia who were not necessarily philosophers or sophists but also poets, rhetoricians, historians, physicians, and religious specialists.¹²⁹

But perhaps one reason the end of the fifth century has struck so many as a critical moment is that with Socrates' death the decisive separation is thought to have occurred of the intelligentsia (or at least that part of it that we admire) from the mass of the population living in the traditional culture and using its expressive symbols. That culture, what Gilbert Murray dismissed as the "inherited conglomerate,"¹³⁰ has proved difficult for the modern student of antiquity to enter, especially when the sophistication of fifth-century tragedy and art are gone, and we are limited to the comments of Plato and Aristotle and the passing allusions in the orators. The force

¹²⁶ Cf. G. Zuntz, *Persephone: Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia*, Oxford 1971, 183–4, on Empedocles.

¹²⁷ Diod. Sic. 10.9.8; Connor 1991, 54 n. 27, citing B. D. Jackson.

¹²⁸ S. C. Humphreys, "Transcendence and Intellectual Roles: The Ancient Greek Case," *Daedalus* 104, 1975, 91–118; "Dynamics of the Greek Breakthrough: The Dialogue between Philosophy and Religion," in S. N. Eisenstadt, ed., *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations*, Albany, NY 1986, 92–110.

¹²⁹ "Literati" or "enthusiasts and technicians of marked symbolism" rather than "intelligentsia," see Levy 1990, 31, developing a concept of R. Redfield and M. B. Singer, "The Cultural Role of Cities," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 3, 1954–5, 53–73. An interesting example is Socrates' interlocutor and warm admirer, Euthyphro, who has been shown by W. D. Furley, "The Figure of Euthyphro in Plato's Dialogue," *Phronesis* 30, 1985, 201–7, to be a staunch supporter of traditional "anthropomorphic" religion, and not a sectarian, as according to J. Burnet, *Plato's Euthyphro, Apology of Socrates and Crito*, Oxford 1924, and M. C. Taylor, *Salamis and the Salaminioi: The History of Unofficial Athenian Demes*, Amsterdam 1997. But we should not suppose, with Furley, that his piety is exactly that of Homer and Hesiod, for that is to miss the crankiness in him, the way a kind of false consistency and self-congratulatory cleverness applied to the traditional religion lead to the absurdity, by the standards of conventional morality, of prosecuting his own father. He may be untouched by Socrates' philosophy, but he has embraced current intellectual techniques eagerly and gives us a whiff of what religious experts, touting their own interpretations, may have sounded like. See P. Roth, "Teiresias as *mantis* and intellectual in Euripides' *Bacchae*," *TAPA* 114, 1984, 59–69.

¹³⁰ Cf. Dodds 1951.

of rational criticism could be devastating for traditional ritual, as we can appreciate when trying to explain it to ourselves, whether we observe it in some living culture or reconstruct it for antiquity.

Plato, although his earlier writing is essentially critical and negative in this regard, through his own creation of myth and his fear of the power of traditional myth shows an appreciation of the non-rational and expressive, as do the Orphics and Pythagoreans, whose myths and images he used. But a theology of mainstream religion does not seem to have been attempted before the Neoplatonists, by which time the world had greatly changed.¹³¹ Popular culture and intellectual exploration increasingly diverged, with only the antiquarianism of the local historians and the collectors of mythological and ritual lore serving as a narrow bridge between them. When they coexisted briefly in a rather precarious balance in fifth-century Athens, their interaction produced the excitement of tragedy and perhaps enabled all elements of the society, and not only the citizens of the polis, to profit from the other ritual performances inherited, elaborated, created, or borrowed by the democracy. But that too is probably a blurred view from 2,500 years later.

Conclusions

Religion under the democracy continued to rely on the ritual expertise of the groups that had long cared for public and private cults. Change came in the expanded participation in the major festivals and in the creation of new social entities with their own ritually expressed character. A coordinated, much less an aggressive, policy of state intervention in existing cults, except as considerations of finance and security required, seems doubtful. Innovation in both public and private cults was not new to the fifth century. Controls over cults that were neither paid for nor managed by the state were loose, and a considerable amount of experimentation took place. The Athenians interwove their own inheritance with that of the world beyond Attica, and mass and elite shared the same religious as they did political symbols.¹³² When the cultural and social unity of the city seemed to be dissolving at the end of the Peloponnesian War, a perception of subversion – from foreign

¹³¹ On Theophrastus' "cultural history" of sacrifice, see D. Obbink, "Theophrastus on Religion and Cultural History," in W. W. Fortenbaugh and R. W. Sharples, eds., *Theophrastean Studies on Natural Science, Physics and Metaphysics, Ethics, Religion and Rhetoric*, Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities 3, New Brunswick, NJ 1988, 272–95.

¹³² On political symbols, see J. Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens: Rhetoric, Ideology, and the Power of the People*, Princeton 1989, singularly silent on religion.

gods, the susceptibility of women (cf. Pl. *Leg.* 909e–910b), and the rationalism of the intellectuals – was taken up by the more vocal in the society and has been echoed, perhaps somewhat uncritically, by modern scholars. But the crisis passed, and it would seem that for the majority, religion under the fourth-century democracy did not differ greatly from that of the fifth century.

12 | The Spectacular and the Obscure in Athenian Religion

Ritual is by its very nature performative.¹ For the ancient Greeks, animal sacrifice (*thusia*), a combination of words and acts, was the central and essential ritual, and it is on sacrifice that this essay will focus. Other clearly performative actions such as procession and dance may be viewed as elaborations of aspects of *thusia*. Indeed, the word can be applied to whole festivals. There are other rites referred to as *orgia* (secret or mystic), for which animal sacrifice need not be directly relevant, or in which it is performed in an abnormal fashion or even excluded; these, in effect, play against the expectations of normal sacrifice. Athletic and musical or poetic competitions do not stand as independent ritual acts but always have a cultic, and thus ultimately a sacrificial, context.²

The public and demonstrative character of pagan religious practice has made it difficult for the interpreters of Classical Greece to come to terms with its religion. Post-Reformation European culture had little sympathy for this aspect of religion, as opposed to the personal and inner-directed. For long it was common to speak of the religion of the polis as essentially civic or political (which, though tautological, it surely was) rather than properly religious. Exceptions were allowed for mysteries and certain supposedly older civic cults. So it has been said of the rites associated with the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis of Athens in contrast to those tied to the glittering Parthenon, seen as a symbol of Athenian imperialism, that “it is clear from the participants in these two sacrifices that if either of them had any religious meaning, it was the modest one in the ‘Old Temple’ of Athena.”³

Originally published in S. Goldhill and R. Osborne, eds., *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*, Cambridge 1998, 321–40.

¹ Cf. R. A. Rappaport, *Ecology, Meaning and Religion*, Richmond, CA 1979, 175–6.

² On the distinction between ritual and drama, see Rappaport 1979, 177.

³ C. J. Herington, *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias*, Manchester 1955, 32, following A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen in Altertum*, Leipzig 1898, 119. L. Ziehen, “Panathenaia (1),” *RE* XVIII 3, 1949, 471–2, and L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, 27. E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary*, Madison, WI 1983, 61 continues in the same vein in finding less “religious meaning” in the sacrifices performed on the Great Altar on the Acropolis and thought to be associated with the Parthenon, but only Herington raises doubts about the religious meaning of all the Panathenaic rites.

In the past few decades openness to studies of pre-modern, non-western societies has encouraged both tolerance and appreciation of this alien kind of religion. Festivals, sacrifices, and other public ceremonies have come to be seen as reflecting, expressing, even creating the society's conception of itself and its place in the cosmos. Here, it is said, we come closest to apprehending the nature of Greek culture as a whole. "Polis religion" is Greek religion.⁴ Such a view fits well with the rewarding attention currently being paid to the performative aspects of Greek culture and which is responsible for the genesis of the present volume. The gains this approach has offered to our understanding are beyond doubt but it may be that by concentrating on the public and the spectacular, the aspects of performance to which most of our information leads us, we risk oversimplifying and thus overlooking other important and complementary dimensions. Let us begin with a brief review of the evidence for sacrifice as performance. The main elements in all normal sacrifice, public and private, were: (1) the procession (*pompe*) accompanying the sacrificial animals to the altar in a sacred area, (2) the sacrifice proper, which includes prayers, the ritual gestures of pouring libations, offering grains or cakes, slaughter of the animals, burning of certain parts on the altar fire and taking of omens, and eating of roasted innards (*splanchna*) by those who have participated in this stage, (3) the division of the rest of the meat with, in public sacrifices, parts or shares reserved as honors to religious and civic functionaries, followed by consumption of the meat by the participants or their passing the meat on to others. Although modern accounts of Classical sacrifice have put great emphasis on the communal meal following upon sacrifice, it is clear from the various options available for most sacrifices that in the Classical period, at least, the meal was no longer, if it had been earlier, an essential feature of the ritual process.⁵

⁴ See especially C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "What is *Polis* Religion?," in O. Murray and S. Price, eds., *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, Oxford 1990, 295–322, and "Further Aspects of *Polis* Religion," *AnnArchStorAnt* 10, 1988, 259–74 (both repr. in R. Buxton, ed., *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion*, Oxford 2000, 13–37, 38–55). For a particular festival, the Great Dionysia at Athens, interpreted as a theatre for the interplay of social norm and transgression, see S. Goldhill, "The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology," in J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin, eds., *Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in its Social Context*, Princeton 1990, 97–129.

⁵ Robin Osborne points out that the prominent role of women in this public activity also distinguishes it from the ordinary; see R. G. Osborne, "Women and Sacrifice in Classical Greece," *CQ* n.s. 43, 1993, 392–405. Reconstructions and interpretations of Greek sacrifice are legion. A few references: H. Hubert and M. Mauss, "Essai sur la nature et fonction du sacrifice," *L'Année sociologique* 2, 1899, 29–138 (= *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function*, tr. W. D. Halls, Chicago 1964), drew on Vedic practice; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrifice and Myth*, Berkeley 1983, 3–7, briefly, before elaborating an ambitious theory; the essentials in R. Parker, "Sacrifice, Greek," *OCD*, 3rd edn, Oxford 1996, 1344–5 and M. H.

The entire procedure of sacrifice was highly visual and dramatic, probably much more so than we can appreciate from verbal descriptions and artistic representations, the latter mostly in the small frame of Attic vases. Actually seeing ritual was a prime component in participation. Normal experience is made clear by the citation of Athenian laws that ban a woman caught in adultery from attending rites at which even foreign and slave women (and *a fortiori* virtuous Athenian women) are permitted to be spectators and supplicants.⁶ Hubert and Mauss's idea that in normal sacrifice the procession and the actions leading up to the actual slaughter constitute a process of sacralization, bringing something from the profane world and making it over to the world of the gods, is useful for understanding many of the elements involved. Everything – the victim itself (hung with fillets and sometimes with horns gilded), the sacrificers crowned and costumed, and the sacred place where the killing and burning occur – is marked out from the ordinary, conceptually and visibly. The sacrificers demonstrate the transaction to the gods and to the community at large, and the whole process is a representation to themselves of their appropriately doing honor to the gods.

Performance usually implies an audience and it is the relationship between performer and spectators and listeners that is the focus of this study. But we should note that there are types of sacrifice such as those used in rites of purification or for the obtaining of favorable signs (καλλιερεῖν), in which the victim is not a source of meat for consumption and the performance requires witnesses (*martyres*) rather than an audience (*theatai*). It is important that they are known to have been done rather than that a community participate in them. This is an aspect that we will want to pursue further but for the present let us continue our consideration of the normal and the most common ritual by far.⁷

Jameson, "Sacrifice and Ritual: Greece," in M. Grant and R. Kitzinger, eds., *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome*, vol. II, New York 1988, 959–79; M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks*, Chicago 1989, various essays; S. Peirce, "Death, Revelry and Thysia," *ClAnt* 12, 1993, 219–78; and F. T. van Straten, *Hiera Kala: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 127, Leiden 1995, both treating particularly of representations in art.

⁶ [Dem.] 59.85 θεασομένην καὶ ἱκετεύουσάν εἰσιέναι (cf. Aesch. 1.183). I take "supplicate" here to refer to the individual's address to the deity through prayer or offering. The alleged illegal and impious officiant, in this case, Neaira's daughter Phano, should have "refrained from these rites . . . from seeing (ὄρᾶν) and sacrificing (θύειν) and performing any of the customary ancestral actions on behalf of the city."

⁷ On rites sometimes termed σφάγια, see W. Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, trans. J. Raffan, Cambridge, MA 1989, 59–60, Jameson 1988b, 962, and "Sacrifice before Battle," in V. D. Hanson, ed., *Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience*, London 1991, 197–227 (Chapter 6 this volume, pp. 98–126).

For a small community, or for a group of modest size within a large community, a high degree of participation could be expected in the second stage of sacrifice, at the sanctuary itself. The Attic organization of the *Mesogeioi* announced honors to its officials and benefactors at its annual festival of Heracles, once at least explicitly “before the sacrifice” (*IG ii²*, 1244, 3–5), an indication that this was when most of the members might be expected to be gathered together. This was an important venue for rewarding *philotimia*, “pursuit of public repute” and *eusebeia* (piety). The relevant community congratulates and defines itself.

How the meat of sacrificial animals was distributed, i.e., who was entitled to what, was important socially because it recognized membership in a defined community (not necessarily identical with the political community) and status and privilege within it. Awards of choice cooked parts are described in Homer (e.g., *Od.* 14.437). Parts or shares, or multiple shares, more often of uncooked meat, are prescribed for functionaries and honorands in Classical and Hellenistic inscriptions.⁸ But assignment of meat, cooked or raw, was not crucial for the ritual nor conspicuous as performance to more than a small circle, which is not to deny the importance of knowledge of the fact within the community.

Homer’s description of the Pylians on the beach feasting after sacrifice to Poseidon (*Od.* 3.4–9) reveals a community, in this case male and “political,” which has moved directly from sacrifice to cooking and feasting, the whole operation being to some degree a spectacle and a performance. (4500 men in nine *hedrai* (sittings) feasting on the beach is so heroic in scale that it is hard to guess what the prosaic reality may have been like.) Aside from the few honors awarded, the feast was “equal” (e.g., *Il.* 1.468) and hierarchy was obliterated. But even in Homer meat could be removed to be consumed later elsewhere. So Achilles in his tent has meat ready to eat and to offer to his guests (*Il.* 9.205–21).

As the character of Greek communities changed, becoming larger, more diverse and more complex and as political roles became more narrowly defined, the constituent elements of the community required roles in cult. By the Classical period, in democratic Athens and the culturally more or less egalitarian cities of the relatively developed parts of the Greek world, those aspects of sacrifice that could engage the widest range of the community had been expanded and made more prominent. This can be seen

⁸ Cf. F. Puttkammer, *Quo modo Graeci victimarum carnes distribuerint*, Diss. Königsberg 1912; J.-L. Durand, “Greek Animals: Toward a Typology of Edible Bodies,” in Detienne and Vernant 1989, 104–5.

primarily in the first stage, the procession, and at the beginning of the third when meat was distributed from numerous animals to the community as a whole.

The obviously spectacular character of the procession in democratic societies needs little elaboration here.⁹ The Parthenon frieze shows its triumphant invasion of temple sculpture. The great city *pompe* incorporated within it various elements of the society, female as well as male, metic as well as citizen, and assumed the participation of an extraordinary number of spectators.¹⁰ The Panathenaic route is not what one might expect for a procession moving from the grove of the hero Academus (the Academy) to the Acropolis. It ignores the Old Agora and the older civic buildings east and north of the Acropolis and enters the city from the northwest via the Ceramicus district at which point most of the participants assembled.¹¹ The Pisistratids in the sixth century may have deliberately routed it through the still largely empty (Classical) Agora where there was ample space for assembling and viewing. Numerous post-holes of various date are found along the Panathenaic Way in the Agora, some of which may have been for bleachers or shelters for spectators.¹²

A couple of details are worth noting. As in the modern military and paramilitary parade, identification of the individual participating units was important. We suppose that the Athenian demesmen marched together or with their respective tribes, just as it was through their deme membership that they received their shares of meat (*IG ii² 334, 2–27*). A Hellenistic inscription from Ilium requires that the tribesmen escort their tribe's cow for Athena and wether (castrated adult male sheep) for Zeus Polieus and carry their cakes (*pemmata*). The name of each tribe is to be written on its cow.¹³ A second point is the development of a class of ritual equipment

⁹ See F. Graf, "Pompai in Greece: Some Considerations about Space and Ritual in the Greek Polis," in R. Hägg, ed., *The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis*, *ActaAth* 8⁰–14, Stockholm 1996, 55–65, and A. Kavoulaki, "Processional Performance and the Democratic Polis," in S. Goldhill and R. G. Osborne, eds., *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*, Cambridge 1999, 293–320.

¹⁰ See especially L. Maurizio, "The Panathenaic Procession: Athens' Participatory Democracy on Display?," in K. Raaflaub and D. Boedeker, eds., *Democracy, Empire and the Arts in Fifth-century Athens*, Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia 2, Cambridge, MA 1998, 297–317 on the Panathenaic procession.

¹¹ See, e.g., N. Robertson, *Festivals and Legends: The Formation of Greek Cities in the Light of Public Ritual*, *Phoenix Suppl.* 31, 1992, 97–8 and Maps 2 and 3.

¹² H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 14, *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape and Uses of the Ancient City Center*, Princeton 1972, 126–7; J. M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens*, London 1986, 45–6, fig. 28.

¹³ Presumably in paint, whitewash, or charcoal. Sokolowski (*LSAM* 9, 20–4) who cites J. Vanseveren's comparison with *IDélos* 1520: in the *pompe* of the Apollonia at Delos an ox is to

which, whatever its original or notional function in ritual performed at the sanctuary, came to be thought of as primarily conspicuous wealth to be displayed in the procession, the *pompe*, and so was referred to as *pompeia* (e.g., Andoc. 4.29). The procession had become an end in itself.¹⁴

The central actions of the second stage probably had changed little: prayers, ritual gestures, the actual killing of the animals, the expert cutting up of the carcass, and the observation of signs, all had to be entrusted to reliable specialists. For the last two actions Attic comedy gives the impression that there may have been a growth in the number of specialized *mageiroi* who handled the meat, and *manteis* who interpreted the signs derived from sacrifice. Sanctuaries, however, were not designed as theaters for the spectacle of sacrifice, though the huge altars of Sicilian tyrants must have functioned as large smoke and smell machines, whose operations were to be seen, sensed and marveled at even from afar. Traditional priests remained the key figures, but Athens at least charged civic officials and bodies of ten representing the ten tribes (notably the various *hieropoioi*) with much additional sacrificing and the assisting of priests at more important ceremonies. The fortuitous engagement in any of this could give The Man of Petty Ambition much joy (Theoph. *Char.* 21.11). The core of sacrifice remained a spectacle, but one limited in the degree to which it could be expanded.

Communal sacrifice in the Classical period put much store on distribution of meat after the sacrifice. The reactionary Isocrates (7.29) can complain that the democracy adds festivals solely for the free meat. The very fact of distribution of shares or parts of meat raw points to alternatives to a common meal taking place on the spot immediately after the sacrifice. Dining arrangements were made only for representative sacred and civic officials, and probably not always even for them. It seems likely that in the Archaic polis temples with interior hearths or separate buildings in sanctuaries served as dining rooms. In later centuries, a communal meal, al fresco or in the group's building, remained practical and at times desirable for smaller communities of sacrificers.¹⁵ For large groups, a polis as a whole

carry the inscription: "The corporation of the Beryttian Poseidoniasts on behalf of Marcus Minatius," *RPh* 62, 1936, 252–4. For a representation of this practice in a sculpture, see the cow dedicated by Regilla, wife of Herodes Atticus, at Olympia (*IvO* 610).

¹⁴ Kavoulaki 1999.

¹⁵ On buildings for dining, see M. S. Goldstein, *The Setting of the Ritual Meal in Greek Sanctuaries, 600–300 BC*, Diss. Berkeley 1978; B. Bergquist, "Symptotic Space: A Functional Aspect of Greek Dining-rooms," in O. Murray, ed., *Symptotica*, Oxford 1990, 37–65; on public dining, see L. Bruit Zaidman, "Ritual Eating in Archaic Greece: Parasites and Paredroi," in J. Wilkins, D. Harvey, and M. Dobson, eds., *Food in Antiquity*, Exeter 1995, 196–203, briefly; P. Schmitt-Pantel, *La cité au banquet: histoire des repas publics dans les cités grecques*, Collection de

or one of its major divisions such as the Athenian tribe (*phyle*), it was not.¹⁶ Participation en masse meant families and individuals bringing their own sacrificial animals or other food, as at the Diasia for Zeus Meilichius,¹⁷ and as did women at the Thesmophoria.¹⁸ But an important consequence of public distributions of meat was that it enabled the majority to dine privately, “aristocratically,” in their own homes, often enough in *andrones*, the specialized dining rooms which prove to be surprisingly common in the Classical private house.¹⁹ Dining in small groups, whether by public officials or private persons, evolved its own rites of prayer, libation, and food offerings, followed by the distinct ritual patterns of the symposium.

Parallel to the dining together of mortals was that of the gods. A potent metaphor was *theoxenia*, literally “hosting the gods,” and other language associated with a widespread ritual corresponding to the Roman *lectisternium*.²⁰ A couch or couches were spread and table with food set alongside; the setting might be the god’s shrine, by the god’s image, or images might be fetched for the purpose. It could take place after a sacrifice or, at its simplest, require only the placing of some foodstuffs on a table without couch, image, or sacrifice. In most cases mortals did not feast close by or in association with the gods. It is more than a coincidence that this ritual is seen to be common, whatever its origins and earlier history, at a time when dining in small groups was becoming a widespread social, and to some degree, ritual practice in the Greek cities. In most cases, spectacle was not part of the procedure, although at Magnesia on the Maeander in the Hellenistic period we hear of the images of the Twelve Gods being carried in procession and set up in a structure erected for their entertainment.²¹

l’École française de Rome, 157, 1992, fully; various papers in Murray 1990, and W. J. Slater, ed., *Dining in a Classical Context*, Ann Arbor 1991; see W. S. Ferguson, “The Attic *Orgeones*,” *HTHR* 37, 1944, 62–140 on the *orgeones*.

¹⁶ The generous public meals offered by Hellenistic benefactors are another matter, and interestingly the bulk of the meat on these occasions may not have come from sacrificed animals; cf. the inscription of the Athenian *eranistai* of Heracles of the second century AD, where contractors supply pork that is evidently not the product of sacrifice and the only sacrifice (*thuma*) mentioned is a single 20-pound male pig (*kapros*), which the treasurer is required to provide each year (*SEG* 31.122, 20–1, 37–8).

¹⁷ M. H. Jameson, “Notes on the Sacrificial Calendar from Erchia,” *BCH* 89, 1965, 159–66.

¹⁸ R. Parker, “Festivals of the Attic Demes,” in T. Linders and G. Nordquist, eds., *Gifts to the Gods*, *Boreas* 15, 1987, 145.

¹⁹ Cf. M. H. Jameson, “Private Space in the Greek City,” in O. Murray and S. Price eds., *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, Oxford 1990, 188–91.

²⁰ Cf. M. H. Jameson, “Theoxenia,” in R. Hägg, ed., *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence*, *ActaAth* 8⁰–13, Stockholm 1994, 35–57 (Chapter 8, this volume, pp. 145–76).

²¹ *SIG*³ 589, *LSAM* 32, 41–5.

The procedure might lend itself to spectacle but for the most part it was enough that it was known to have been carried out. We hear of priests being complimented for their preparation of tables, a sight to be seen and admired in a closed space by only a few people at a time.

Against the centrifugal tendency to dine away from the sanctuary stands a requirement found in a number of cult inscriptions that the meat be consumed on the spot. This is indicated most commonly by the phrases οὐ φορά, οὐκ ἀποφορά – “no carrying away,” or δαινύσθην αὐτοῦ – “let them dine right there.”²² But while this is the most frequent comment on the disposition of the meat, it is very rare when compared to the usual silence on the subject, with the implication that shares of sacrificial meat could be disposed of as one wished. Meat could be consumed by a group elsewhere than its sanctuary, by the household at home, given to friends or relations, or sold to butcher shops.²³ In the great majority of sacrifices, how the meat was disposed of was, in terms of ritual, a matter of indifference. However, the occasional requirement of feasting on the spot points to a desire to continue the group’s presence in the sanctuary, i.e. to prolong and complete the drama of delivering a gift to the gods and then feasting gratefully on the gods’ bounty.

Against the normal dispersing of the sacrificers, there was a sense that in certain cases it should not happen. It is not clear why the requirement was applied to some sacrifices and not others, and to judge from the insertion of the requirement at a number of points in the sacrificial calendar of the Athenian deme of Erchia after the whole text had been cut, the advisability of its application was debatable.²⁴

If the “no carrying away” provision draws attention to attempts to maintain or prolong a performative if not spectacular aspect of sacrifice, we should now consider information that points in a different direction. This will require attention to detailed sacrificial prescriptions. In two Attic sacrificial calendars of the fifth century we find the terse declaration that the

²² For the last, *SIG*³ 1024, *LSCG* 96, 26. Generally, see Goldstein 1978, 51–4; S. Scullion, “Olympian and Chthonian,” *ClAnt* 13, 1994, 99–112; Jameson 1994b, 45; S. Dow, “The Greater *demarchia* of Erchia,” *BCH* 89, 1965, 208–10 unpersuasively sees purely secular considerations at work, to prevent cult personnel from being favored.

²³ Cf. V. J. Rosivach, *The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-century Athens*, American Classical Studies 34, Atlanta, GA 1994, concerned primarily with the acquisition of animals.

²⁴ G. Daux, “La grande *démarchie* d’Erchia,” *BCH* 87, 1963, 603–34; *SEG* 21.541; *LSCG* 18. Bruit Zaidman 1995, 202, speaking of those specially delegated in the archaic city, writes, “Sacrificial meat eaten in the sanctuary, far from being sacred, is in a sense desacralized by the division made between human and divine portions. The human portion of the beast, though, when consumed by representative humans with other food in the sanctuary, has a ritual value and special function.” Our sources do not tell us what that value and function were.

meat from certain victims sacrificed by the organization is to be sold. The first calendar, very fragmentary, is that of the deme of Scambonidae in the city and dates from ca. 460 BC.²⁵ While there are several references to public distribution of meat (including meat from the Dipolieia and the Panathenaea festivals), there are also two references to selling the meat raw (ἀποδόσθαι ὤμα), first a full-grown sheep sacrificed at the Synoecia festival on the Acropolis (C 16–19) and then a ram or lamb at the otherwise unknown festival Epize[phyra] in the Pythium, presumably for Apollo (C 19–22). In both cases a single victim is sacrificed, which would not provide enough meat to satisfy the many demesmen living nearby, to the north of the Acropolis. It seems that rather than struggle with the question of who was to receive what little there was, the deme decided to sell the meat as soon as the ritual had been completed.²⁶

The same intention is expressed in different language in another calendar, attributed to the deme of Thoricus in south Attica.²⁷ Though published as from the fourth century BC, probably because of the use of the Ionic alphabet, it has been recognized as dating from around the first phase of the Peloponnesian War.²⁸ The word πρᾶτος, “to be sold,” occurs six times, applied to sacrificial animals (lines 9, 11–12, 23, 26, 35, and Right Side, Addendum 1, line 3).²⁹

²⁵ IG i³ 244, LSCG 10.

²⁶ The Synoecia in ancient and modern scholarship are explained by the synoecism of Attica by Theseus. If we take the latter to be ahistorical, Noel Robertson’s connection of the name with *oikoi*, “lodges,” of phratries (Robertson 1992, especially 32–43), is attractive. He can point to the biennial sacrifice during this festival to Zeus Phratrius and Athena Phratia in the city’s revised calendar, LSS 10, C 31–58. But the deme’s sacrifice on the Acropolis remains unexplained.

²⁷ It is preserved on an inscription now at the Getty Museum in Malibu. Known earlier from imperfect copies, it was first published from autopsy by Georges Daux, “Le calendrier de Thorikos au Musée J. Paul Getty,” *L’AntCl* 52, 1983, 150–74 and “Sacrifices à Thorikos,” *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12, 1984, 145–52, SEG 33.147. It is certainly from south Attica and I will refer to it as from Thoricus though the attribution to that deme is not beyond question. I hope to publish a revised text shortly. For discussion of the contents, see especially D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica, 508–7 – ca. 250 BC: A Political and Social Study*, Princeton 1986, 194–9, and Parker 1987.

²⁸ D. M. Lewis, “A New Athenian Decree,” *ZPE* 60, 1985, 108, n. 3 (cf. IG i³ 256 bis, p. 958) proposed a date of 440–430 BC.

²⁹ This last reading has not been reported previously. The text prepared by G. Dunst, “Der Opferkalendar des attischen Demos Thorikos,” *ZPE* 25, 1977, 243–64, before the stone became available for autopsy restored πρᾶτόν at the end of line 27, following the word Πυανοψίους, a well-known festival of Apollo. This was accepted by J. Labarbe, *Fouilles de Thorikos I: Les testimonia*, Ghent 1977, 59, 61, and, with a query, by Parker 1987, 144. Daux had confirmed the *pi* on the stone but restored the incomplete Π[οσειδῶ, there being no room for *vi*, and none

This calendar is not otherwise interested in what happens to the sacrificial animals once they have been offered to the gods; no priestly perquisites are mentioned, though we should not suppose for that reason that they were not taken. In only one other instance is the fate of the meat mentioned. A piglet is to be burnt whole (ὀλόκαυτος), probably for Zeus Polieus in connection with a “Before Plowing Ceremony” (Prerosia) at a place called Automenae (l. 15).³⁰ That is also the only time the source of the animal is specified. It must be bought (ὠνητόν, l. 15), as the great majority of sacrificial animals here and elsewhere surely were. Specifying that this should be done would seem, like the specification of holocaust, to have a ritual rather than a practical motivation – the victim, a purificatory offering, is to come from beyond the circle of worshippers.

In the six sacrifices from which the meat is to be sold, there is no obvious ritual reason for avoiding consumption either in the sanctuary or at home. One sheep was sacrificed to Zeus Meilichius at the Diasia festival (34–35), probably not locally but at the god’s shrine at Agrae on the outskirts of the city of Athens, as by the deme of Erchia.³¹ If Zeus Meilichius is thought to be chthonic (not in itself a sure guide to consumption), Zeus Kataibates, who comes down in the form of lightning, is not. He receives wethers at two different places where lightning has struck (11–12, 25–6). Two more sacrifices from which the meat was to be sold were of ewes for Athena, though the first entry (23) was cancelled at some point by neatly cutting a line through the three words Ἀθηναίαι οἶν πρατόν. The second ewe is in an addendum on the right side of the *stele*, next to the entries on the main

appearing, on the right side. It is now clear that Ἀπόλ|λωνι and a full-grown victim for the Pyanopsia can be read on the left side in Addendum I. I am inclined to think that only Neanias is sacrificed to on the 16th of the month, perhaps in connection with the Apatouria, and that Πυανοψίαις is followed not by the requirement that the flesh be sold but by a word relevant to that festival, i.e., π[ύανα, the distinctive mixture of boiled seeds that characterized the festival; see Deubner 1932, 198–201. The entry for the country Dionysia in Posideion (31) is even more laconic: Διονύσια and no more. At some point it was felt that the chief god of the festival must be named and his sacrifice specified, and this led to Addendum I on the left side. Even if π[ύανα is not right, I would hesitate to restore π[ρατόν since it would be the only instance here of one victim’s flesh being sold while that of one or more others was kept; see the discussion below. This use of πρατός of sacrificial animals is unique, aside from a rather vague reference, whenever they (sc. *thusiai*) are not for sale (δὲ κα κα μὴ ὦντι πρατα . . .) in a Hellenistic inscription from Thera, *IG* xii 3, 330, 227; E. Schwyzler, *Dialectorum Graecarum Exempla Epigraphica Potiora*, Leipzig 1923, 227.

³⁰ A lamb is sacrificed to Zeus at the same place (47–8). That Automenae may be a place name is a possibility mentioned and rejected by Daux 1983, but accepted by Parker 1987, 144, but see now S. Scullion, “Three Notes on Attic Sacrificial Calendars,” *ZPE* 121, 1998, 116–19.

³¹ *SEG* 21.541, 37–43, *LSCG* 18.

face for the month Hekatombaion; in the addendum there seems to be a reference to the Panathenaea, celebrated at the end of this month, which makes it likely that the offering was to Athena.³² Finally there is another victim to be sold, a full-grown sheep, in a lacunose passage at the very end of Hekatombaion, written in an erasure (9). While it is not impossible that it too was connected with the Panathenaea, in the clearer examples of the meat being sold only a single victim is specified for the festival. The relationship of the main text to the addendum at this point is unclear. It is interesting that two of the six examples in this calendar that included the requirement that the meat be sold may have been subject to debate, with one cancelled and another substituted for a previous entry. We have noted revisions to the “no carrying away” provision at Erchia. The sacrifice of the Scambonidae on the Acropolis, the sacrifices to Zeus and potentially the other examples from Thoricus have one thing in common, that each ceremony involves only a single god and a single victim. As we have seen, the one apparent exception, the sacrifice to Athena at Thoricus in line 23, coming after sacrifices to three other figures, was canceled.

The simplest reconstruction we can make of what went on at these sacrifices is that the appropriate priest (accompanied by whatever attendants were customary) went to the sacred place, two of which were probably no more than little enclosures surrounding the spot where a thunderbolt had struck, and two probably in the city of Athens (Zeus Meilichius and, for the Panathenaea, on the city’s Acropolis). There he prayed, sacrificed, and then having followed the customary procedure and removed for himself his traditional perquisites, conveyed the remainder to a butcher shop for sale. (Perhaps the *mageiros* accompanied the priest and cut the animal up at the sanctuary.) Parker observed that the Zeus and Athena sacrifices were made at outlying sites in the deme and therefore were “not suitable occasions for a *hestiasis*” (public feast).³³ We should note, furthermore, that the simple alternatives of dividing the meat up on the spot or back at the deme center were also rejected. While the Diasia for Zeus Meilichius and the Panathenaea in the city were convenient for demesmen living there (fewer, however, before the Peloponnesian War than afterwards), they were a long haul for those still living in south Attica. And yet the Panathenaea was a

³² There is also reference in this entry to a local place name, Μυκηνης (accentuation is uncertain) where later in the calendar, in the month Mounichion Dionysus receives a tawny or black goat (45–6). It is conceivable if not likely that the ewe for the Panathenaea was also sacrificed there, and not in Athens. I read, without indicating doubtful letters, Μυκηνω[ι] τέ[λεον—/—] /αν οἶν Παναθ[ηναί] /οις θύεν πρατ[όν].

³³ Parker 1987, 145.

festival that many from all over Attica attended, though by the later fourth century participation in the annual (as opposed to the quadrennial) festival seems to have needed some boosting.³⁴ It may be that with solid shares of beef available to any Athenian who made his way to the city on the 29th of Hekatombaion it was not worth the trouble for deme officials to arrange a feast or to share out the meat of their lone ewe.

There were, it seems, situations where the organization making the sacrifice was conscientious about performing the ritual but so few of its members participated that it was more advantageous for the meat to be sold and the proceeds returned to the organization's coffers, no doubt for use for future sacrifices. The opposite to this prescription, the insistence on consumption on the spot, prolongs the existence of a sacrificial community to achieve a particular effect. But neither requirement suggests that communal participation followed by feasting together was the norm. The principal aim of the Thoricus and the other deme calendars was the conscientious performance of a complex schedule of sacrifices. Unfailing attendance at the rites by members of the organization was not expected, and participation and spectacle, while desirable, were not of the first importance. Knowledge that these rites were being performed at the right time, in the right place with the right victims, was. The inscriptions themselves take on the task of declaring and making visible the community's recognition of its obligations.³⁵ The inscriptions are spectacular, and the large, handsome, *stoichedon* lettering of the fifth century texts, in particular, confirms this function.

Ample support for this perhaps obvious conclusion can be found in the frustrating scraps that have survived from the grandest effort of the Athenians to organize and display their ritual obligations, the consolidated calendar of sacrifices prepared around 400 BC and set up as walls of *stelae* in the Royal Stoa in the Agora.³⁶ The ancient controversies over the revisions,

³⁴ Cf. *IG ii*² 334, Lycurgan measures for enhancement of the annual Panathenaea which included rewarding demes with meat according to the number of members who marched.

³⁵ Cf. R. G. Osborne, "Inscribing Performance," in Goldhill and Osborne 1999, 341–58.

³⁶ No full edition of the texts exists. One promised by Sterling Dow, who produced several important preliminary studies, never appeared. The largest and most discussed fragment is *LSS* 10, first published by J. Oliver, "The American Excavations in the Athenian Agora, 6th Report, Greek Inscriptions, nos. 1–36," *Hesperia* 4, 1935, 19–32; cf. also *LSCG* 17. For the text, interpretation of ritual details and bibliography, H. Hansen, *Aspects of the Athenian Law Code of 410/09–400/399 BC*, New York 1990, is the most recent and useful study of the calendar, though the bulk of his work was done in the 1960s. A group of Eleusinian sacrifices is examined in detail by R. F. Healey, *Eleusinian Sacrifices in the Athenian Law Code*, New York 1990. For discussion of the revision of the laws to which the calendar belongs, see M. Ostwald, *From Popular Sovereignty to the Sovereignty of Law: Law, Society, and Politics in Fifth-century*

reflected in *Lysias* 30, centered on the dropping or reduction of traditional sacrifices and the inclusion of new sacrifices. They provide a valuable glimpse of what must have been an ongoing process. It is a fair assumption that the newer sacrifices were ones that had attracted recent interest and might be expected to draw attendance while those that were relegated to infrequent performance in a cycle of years or perhaps eliminated altogether had a smaller, precarious constituency. Inevitably certain festivals associated with particular families would become neglected if the families died out or were reduced in strength. At the same time, openness to new cults and new forms of ritual was more characteristic of Greek paganism, and indeed of most non-literate religions than is usually allowed.³⁷

Despite the charges against the drafters, Nicomachus and his associates, what strikes us in examining the fragments of the code is the number of minor and obscure cults that were maintained conscientiously by means of the sacrifice of a single, modest victim. Who would have suspected that a wether was supplied to the pre-Cleisthenic *phyle* of the Gleontes and *trittys* of Leukotainioi to be sacrificed on the day before the main sacrifices of the Synoecia?³⁸ The approach adopted by the drafters was, it seems, to reorganize the festival calendar and the financial arrangements so as to be able to keep up the widest possible array of sacrifices. A system of cycles was elaborated, so that while some sacrifices were annual, others were performed in alternate years, or every four years, as the Great Panathenaea, like the festival at Olympia, had long been; these cycles are also seen in the fourth-century calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis, to which we will return.³⁹

Another practical feature was the conversion of many, perhaps most, of the perquisites of priests and other officiants into cash. The parts and shares of the sacrificed animals, the allowances for grain, wine etc., are all dutifully listed and their equivalence in cash set beside them. No one was to be deprived of his traditional privilege which may have been felt to be part

Athens, Berkeley 1986, 511–14; N. Robertson, “The Laws of Athens, 410–399 BC: The Evidence for Review and Publication,” *JHS* 110, 1990, 43–75; P. J. Rhodes, “The Athenian Code of Laws, 410–399 BC,” *JHS* 111, 1991, 87–100. The accumulated body of laws reviewed at the end of the fifth century was regarded by the Athenians as Solonian, but the resulting code reflects aims and practices of ca. 400 BC. For the Solonian calendar, see R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History*, Oxford, 1996, 43–55.

³⁷ Cf. Parker 1996a, 214–17; M. H. Jameson, “Religion in the Athenian Democracy,” in I. Morris and K. Raaflaub, eds., *Democracy 2500? Questions and Challenges*, Archaeological Institute of America Colloquia and Conference Papers 2, 1997, Dubuque IA 1998, 171–95 (Chapter 11 this volume, pp. 232–69).

³⁸ *LSS* 10, A 31–43. ³⁹ *IG* ii² 1358, *LSCG* 20.

of the proper performance of the rite, but it was to be represented largely by payment in coinage. No doubt this was easier to administer than the assigning of the particular honors. The meat from these numerous minor sacrifices would have been sold and the income returned to the city, but we do not see this happening since the surviving fragments record expenditures, not income.⁴⁰

The impression one gets is that few Athenians other than those charged with their performance (and assured of some form of reward) were likely to participate in a great many of the rites for which the polis had a responsibility. The eyes of the Athenian public were fixed largely on the great festivals of the city such as the Panathenaea in which it participated as marchers in the *pompai*, as recipients of meat from the sacrifices, and as spectators of processions and competitions (*agones*). All Athenian families could also claim a place in the rites of civic units (tribes and demes) and in those of older groups putatively based on kinship, the phratries; many were also tied to *gene* ('clans') and to independent associations of *orgeones* and to *thiasoi*. Women had a role in many polis and local festivals, and the festivals of Demeter and Artemis were predominantly theirs. How much any individual or family participated on any occasion would have varied with their particular circumstances, as too would the degree that any of the performances partook of the public and spectacular, which no doubt would have been enhanced if, for instance, an unusual number of animals became available.

The Athenian, however, was aware of and, indeed, seems to have demanded, the maintenance of a much larger network of ritual performances than any one person could engage in. This is what may be referred as "the obscure," those many obligations discharged at the right time and place and by means of the right animals sacrificed in the right ways. Thanks are offered in decree after decree because someone performed his ritual obligations well and according to ancestral practice (καλῶς καὶ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, e.g. IG ii² 1247, 6–7).

For most people one suspects these rites had little or no correlation with myth and might involve supernatural figures not equated precisely with members of the familiar, limited pan-Hellenic or pan-Attic cast of characters. The goddess Kourotrophos is a good example.⁴¹ The many gods and goddesses, heroes and heroines, of as large and well-populated a land as Attica could only have been apprehended dimly by most people but a

⁴⁰ Contrast IG ii² 1496: records of the income from the sale of sacrificial skins for a few years in the fourth century.

⁴¹ T. H. Price, *Kourotrophos: Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities*, Leiden 1978, 101–32 for the testimonia; interpretation is debatable.

sense of their being properly recognized was thought to be essential for the survival of the city. In fact, some must always have been fading away while others were being reinterpreted and newcomers were being established.

Between the great public festival on or below the Acropolis and the small sacrifice in a simple enclosure in a corner of the countryside there was a continuum – the basic ritual acts and personnel differed only in scale, as did participation. Exclusivity of membership and participation served to define the community (and a community might honor an outsider with an invitation). But there were also groups in which membership was defined not only by birth and status but also, or only, by shared knowledge or experience. Most obvious are the mysteries, whether in the charge of the polis or of private groups, such as the *genos* of the Lycomidae, or, as with the Eleusinian Mysteries, a combination of the two.⁴² Certain sights seen (especially important for Eleusis) and actions performed distinguished the admitted and the excluded. Here performance was prominent, sometimes spectacular, such as the procession of initiates from Athens to Eleusis, but the central elements were hidden and the very fact of their obscurity defined the participants. This is an example of what has been called “advertised secrecy.”⁴³

At one time such secrecy may have been characteristic of admission to a new status within the society, as in moving from one age group to another by means of rites of passage.⁴⁴ In Classical Greece, however, it is most characteristic of the status of women defined by their exclusive rites, especially the Thesmophoria and the Munychian and Brauronian rites of Artemis. The Eleusinian Mysteries are distinctive in their abolition

⁴² On ancient mysteries in general, see W. Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, Cambridge, MA 1985, 276–304 and *Ancient Mystery Cults*, Cambridge, MA 1987. On the personnel of the Eleusinian mysteries, K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Philadelphia 1974. On the Lycomidae, Parker 1996a, 305.

⁴³ R. I. Levy, *Mesocosm: Hinduism and the Organization of a Traditional Newar City in Nepal*, Berkeley 1990, especially 335–40. The differences between the use of “advertised secrecy” in the Nepalese city studied by Levy and in Classical Athens are instructive: in Bhaktapur secret knowledge and performance characterized and defined the various groups with their separate and complementary roles in the ritual life of the city. (In Arnhem Land in northern Australia the identity and relationships of neighboring societies are defined by control of secret ritual knowledge and the degree to which elements are shared; see I. Keen, *Knowledge and Secrecy in an Aboriginal Religion*, Oxford 1994.) While the ritual roles of certain Athenian *gene* are comparable to the groups in Bhaktapur and certain rites were in their charge and hidden from the public, we do not detect claims to secret knowledge except in cults specifically described as mysteries. On mysteries and other kinds of “secrets” in Athens, see J. Bremmer, “Religious Secrets and Secrecy in Classical Greece,” in H. G. Kippenberg and G. G. Stroumsa, eds., *Secrecy and Concealment*, Leiden 1995, 61–78.

⁴⁴ So Burkert 1987a on the origin of the mysteries.

of gender distinction in major rites for Demeter and not only in their openness to all Athenians and residents of Attica but, by the fifth century BC, the active encouragement to participation of all Greek-speakers. It is an interesting paradox that the most fiercely and vociferously protected secrets of Athenian religion were of a cult for which the Athenians proselytized energetically and which was rivaled in this respect only by the competitions of the Panathenaea and the Dionysia. At the same time it was the state cult in which the religious well-being of the individual participant was most clearly a goal. Its complexity mirrors that of contemporary Athens.

Even within recognized public festivals that did not involve the initiation and secret knowledge we associate with mysteries, there were hidden procedures to which ancient sources, learned rather than epigraphic or official, apply the language of mysteries. This is true, for example, of the Plynteria, the spring-cleaning for Athena on the Acropolis, which includes “the rites not to be spoken of” (τὰ ὄργια . . . ἀπόρρητα, Plut. *Alc.* 34.1), and the Arrephoria, involving a night-time descent and return to the Acropolis by two young girls.⁴⁵ Thus, in addition to any of the usual public elements such as procession and sacrifice, there were also particular ritual acts performed by selected individuals out of view of the public. The statue, dress, and surroundings of Athena had to be prepared for the new year, and while this was going on there could be danger to the goddess and the city. The public had to be excluded. Whereas a large pattern of more or less routine rituals did not need spectators, these “mystic” rites banished spectacle and spectators.

A vigorous religious life for a large polis required everything from public ritual to public mystery, and both performance and the awareness of performance at many levels. Public performance employing spectacle to reach a large community stands at one end of a continuum. Secrecy, the ultimate in obscurity, would seem to be at the opposite extreme but is used primarily to put up a conspicuous screen around a performance and spectacle reserved for a distinct group. The advertising of secrecy is itself a performance. Between the public spectacle and the secret lies the great majority of ritual actions, what we have termed the obscure – more common, diffuse, and varied. In fifth- and fourth-century Athens the observance of a great many, largely obscure rituals produced a crowded calendar of sacred time and a dense map of sacred space.

The performance and knowledge of distinct sets of rituals by the constituent social groups within a society or a wider cultural area commonly help to define the groups and to construct the larger community through

⁴⁵ For the sources, Deubner 1932, 9–17.

their complementary roles.⁴⁶ This would seem to apply well to the social units that made up the Athenian democracy, the tribes, demes, phratries, and *gene*, despite their different origins and functions, the first two essential building blocks of the Cleisthenic structure, the latter two pre-Cleisthenic but of continuing social and religious value to the democracy. Ritual activity was crucial for any Greek social entity. Although we emphasize social and political functions, for its members it might almost be said that the *raison d'être* of the group was the offering of sacrifice to a particular supernatural figure or group of figures.

The ten new tribes of Cleisthenes, whose members came from three groups of demes from different parts of Attica, provided the structure for the army and for the annual Council of 500. Concentrating on honors to their eponymous heroes, they fit the model well enough, though some of the heroes had been the object of cult before the creation of the Cleisthenic tribes named after them.⁴⁷ The 139 demes among which all the territory of Attica was divided were created or recognized by Cleisthenes and served as the source of an Athenian's identity (as the community to which one's paternal ancestor had been attached in 506 BC).⁴⁸ They collected the cults of their local territory while also reaching out to a number of key sites beyond, which points to active communities whose interests were not confined to the territory assigned to the Cleisthenic demes.⁴⁹ To a degree we cannot estimate, they were the continuation of traditional, local ritual communities comparable spatially and ritually to the demes; others may have inherited the obligations of regional groupings such as the Marathonian Tetrapolis, which survived the reforms of Cleisthenes and consisted of four contiguous demes from two different tribes. Its continuing validity is shown by the comprehensive sacrificial calendar inscribed in the mid-fourth century

⁴⁶ For the student of Classical Athens, Levy 1990 is exceptionally valuable, in part because of the size and complexity of the society he examines.

⁴⁷ On the tribes and their heroes, see U. Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen: Mythos, Kult und Darstellungen*, *AthMitt-BH* 5, Berlin 1976, and on the religious implications of Cleisthenes' reforms in general, Parker 1996a, 102–21.

⁴⁸ This is not the place to engage in the arguments as to whether the deme was essentially a group of citizens who lived together in 506 BC or a continuous stretch of Attic land attached to those citizens. For a largely agricultural and pastoral society the distinction may not make much sense. On deme cults and their relationship to those of the polis, see J. Mikalson, "The Religion of the Attic Demes," *AJPh* 98, 1977, 421–35; Whitehead 1986a; Parker 1987, 1996a.

⁴⁹ The Thoricians went to Poseidon at Sunium (lines 19–20) and probably to Agrae for Zeus Meilichius and perhaps to the Acropolis for the Panathenaea (as discussed above). The Erchians sacrificed to Zeus Epacrius on Mt. Hymettus (E 59–64) and went to Agrae (A 37–43) and Athens (A 1–5, B 1–5, G 13–18, D 13–17). Discussion of the location of the Thorician sacrifices in Whitehead 1986a, 196–7.

BC.⁵⁰ All the surviving deme calendars, however, were the products of basic units of the democracy, set down many years after the creation of the demes themselves. Even the Tetrapolis calendar included the four separate deme calendars in addition to that of the Tetrapolis as a whole.

With the Cleisthenic reorganization in place, the major deme festivals probably served to define the new community (or reaffirm the continuation of a pre-existing community) and to strengthen the identification of the citizens with their demes.⁵¹ Thucydides (2.16) speaks of the Athenians up to the Peloponnesian War living largely in the country (ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς, which covers villages as well as dispersed farm houses) and their distress “at leaving their houses, their sacred places (*hiera*) which had been passed on to them continuously from their ancestors since the time of the ancient organization (of Attica, i.e. before the synoecism), transforming their way of life, each person in effect abandoning his own polis.” The religious life of the extra-urban demes would seem to have corresponded on a small scale to that of the polis.

The consequences of the withdrawals from the countryside during the Peloponnesian War on the settlement patterns of Attica have been much debated.⁵² It seems to me inescapable that changes occurred and that the urban centers of Athens and the Piraeus probably grew more populous. It may no longer have been clear that the ancestral demes were the communities in which the Athenians lived their lives and through which they realized their identity as Athenians (though the demes furnished the mechanism of registry). We have seen reason to doubt widespread participation in all but a few major festivals for most deme members.

It is not evident that Cleisthenes or the democratic leaders who came after him were concerned with the viability of demes as communities. The ability of the demes to meet their sacrificial obligations was not ensured by any outside authority. Erchia in the fourth century had apparently to adopt

⁵⁰ IG ii² 1358, LSCG 20. Discussion in Whitehead 1986a, 190–4, and Parker 1996a, 331–2. The late Gerald M. Quinn’s 1971 unpublished Harvard dissertation is entitled “The Sacrificial Calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis.” An unsolved puzzle is the finding place of the calendar, at Koukounari in the hills west of Marathon and the three other demes. I should record that in 1895 a *stèle* base was visible at the site of the excavations, according to R. B. Richardson, “A Sacrificial Calendar from the Epakria,” *AJA* 10, 1895, 209–26, which rather argues against the inscription having been brought to Koukounari for a secondary use.

⁵¹ Cf. Parker 1996a, 114–15, R. G. Osborne, *Greece in the Making, 1200–479 BC*, London 1996, 296–9.

⁵² A balanced account in Whitehead 1986a, 349–63. R. G. Osborne, *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attica*, Cambridge 1985, 16–17, saw the settlement pattern as virtually unchanged throughout the Classical period. But the continuing importance of Attic land does not mean it was always exploited and settled in the same way.

a system of five liturgists to pay for its many if small annual sacrifices.⁵³ The problem is unlikely to have been unique to Erchia. Records of deme activity diminish greatly by the third century BC and soon disappear. Meanwhile the cults of *gene*, phratries, and independent and elective groups such as those of *orgeones* and *thiasoi* continued and seem even to be increasing. With respect to the traditional cults of the Attic countryside it may be suggested that the conception of proper ritual programs and the measures taken to maintain them at all levels were more significant than the actual participation in the performance. This points to a view of religion which, while still very different from that, say, of the post-Reformation western world, is also distinct from what had been traditional in Greece.

Another clue that suggests that the model of the tightly integrated, traditional city discussed above is imperfect for Classical Athens is the employment of specialized knowledge and secrecy. Where social units compete and collaborate in the realm of ritual and symbol to constitute the society as a whole, there is likely to be much secret and expert knowledge, either restricted to the group and its specialists or shared selectively with other groups.⁵⁴ In Athens, while many rituals were in the charge of the priests of particular *gene*, no doubt jealous of their position and their privileges, and certain performances were hidden from the public, we do not detect claims to superior or secret knowledge, except in those few cults specifically defined as mysteries. The vague if frequent assurance that performance was “according to ancestral practice” (κατὰ τὰ πάτρια) is as close as we come.

The history of the specialized interpreters of ritual known as exegetes is much disputed but what should not be controversial is their very limited role in Athenian religious life.⁵⁵ This is consistent with the very restricted part played by Greek priests in general. “Greek religion might almost be called a religion without priests,” as Walter Burkert has said.⁵⁶ No one was barred from sacrificing – any Athenian, man or woman depending on the cult – was eligible for the newer democratic priesthoods.⁵⁷ Priests were of a particular cult at a particular place, e.g., of Apollo Delphinus at the Delphinium in Erchia.⁵⁸ What the priest controlled was access to space rather than knowledge, whether his authority came from hereditary membership in a *genos* or appointment by a public body. The spatial aspect

⁵³ S. Dow, “The Greater *demarkhia* of Erchia,” *BCH* 89, 1965, 180–213.

⁵⁴ Cf. note 43 above. ⁵⁵ Bibliography in *GGR* 636–7, 864. ⁵⁶ Burkert 1985, 95.

⁵⁷ S. B. Aleshire, “The Demos and the Priests: The Selection of Sacred Officials at Athens from Cleisthenes to Augustus,” in R. G. Osborne and S. Hornblower, eds., *Ritual, Finance, Politics: Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*, Oxford 1994, 325–37.

⁵⁸ SEG 21.541, A 23–30, *LSCG* 18.

of the large network of “obscure” ritual the Athenians tried to maintain in the Classical period deserves attention.

By the fourth century it is arguable that the Athenian arrangements, the product of continuing political debate, were more “political” than social, addressing the needs of the Athenian as citizen rather than as a demesman. Political decisions had brought together a great variety of cults in a comprehensive city calendar which, with the city’s money, guaranteed that the supernatural interests of the demos were met. If the city calendar was, to state the obvious, in the first instance an organizing of time to serve Athenian religious interests, it was also a partial cultic map of Attica. For the local demes, place may well have been more important than date since the city’s calendar necessarily took precedence, while in terms of territory the polis barely intruded into that of the demes (I do not know that any polis cult was celebrated in the territories of Erchia or Thoricus). The local calendars were maps of the deme’s cultic obligations conceived of spatially; usually identification of the site was implicit in the identification of the cult and separate specification of place was not needed.

This spatial dimension of the supernatural had a long history and it is interesting that it was still strongly felt at a time when traditional group ties, with their associated cults, were probably weakening. For Greece attention to issues of sacred space in recent years has been directed largely to the dark and disputed origins of the polis.⁵⁹ But of course the social and symbolic use of space continued to evolve. The changing character of sacred space in the fully developed, and, in the view of some, declining, polis is largely unexplored territory which we can only point to here. In interpreting Classical religious practice and attitudes we need to keep in view the “modernizing” contemporary forces as well as the integrative traditions of the past.

The *demos* of the city organized, adapted, and preserved the sacred space and time of the city as a whole. Early in the democracy it seems likely that each local *demos* shouldered the burden of the indispensable but largely invisible performance of ritual over the landscape of Attica. In the last analysis, it was the securing of supernatural favor to the citizen and his family by means of regular observance of many obscure rituals that was democratic government’s major obligation to the people. The observances themselves were, for the most part, ancient. Their arrangement in the Classical period

⁵⁹ Cf. F. de Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State*, Chicago 1995; S. Alcock and R. Osborne, eds., *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, New York 1994.

was the result of a long process that kept pace with the changing society. Some citizens active at the level of their demes seem to have taken the lead in preserving regular ritual activity in the parts of Attica to which they were attached. But it may have been as much as Athenian citizens as it was as deme members that they came to see their obligations to the “gods and heroes who occupy the polis and *chora* of the Athenians” (Dem. 18.184, cf. Din. 4.64), a view of sacred space that encompassed Attica as a whole as well as their own particular territory.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ I was unable to attend the conference in person but I have profited from the comments of Robin Osborne and from discussions with Allaire Stallsmith and Robert Levy.

PART IV

Michael Jameson and the Study of
Greek Religion



Introduction

JAN N. BREMMER

In one of his last major articles, Michael Jameson directed his attention to a comparison between the Greek archaic city and the still largely medieval Nepalese city of Bhaktapur. For us, the readers, the choice of such a comparison demonstrates Jameson's continual freshness of thinking, but for him it was an opportunity to come back to the subject of space, a subject that fascinated him throughout his life. He not only gave us the authoritative study of private space in Greece,¹ but he was also interested in urban and rural land division,² and in the locations of sanctuaries.³ Yet in this study Jameson moves beyond the more practical aspects of public space to problems of symbolic space. Inspired by studies of Bhaktapur carried out by the anthropologist Robert Levy (1924–2003),⁴ an important interlocutor for Jameson,⁵ who argued that the Greek city already revealed the rationalizing process of the modern, secular city, Jameson stresses the absence of a separation between town and country, unlike Asian cities. He also notes, against Levy, that a rationalizing view of the town does not really occur before Plato and Aristotle.

One of the arguments put forward by Levy as a sign of the rationalizing tendency of the Greek polis as it separated the sacred from the secular is the

¹ M. H. Jameson, "Private Space in the Greek City," in O. Murray and S. Price, eds., *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, Oxford 1990, 169–93.

² T. W. Boyd and M. H. Jameson, "Urban and Rural Land Division in Ancient Greece," *Hesperia* 50, 1981, 327–42; Jameson, "Attic *Eschatiai*," in K. Ascani et al., eds., *Ancient History Matters: Studies Presented to Jens Erik Skydsgaard on His Seventieth Birthday*, Rome 2002, 63–8.

³ M. H. Jameson, "Mapping Greek Cults," in F. Kolb, ed., *Chora und Polis*, Munich 2004, 147–83. For a more general survey of the locations of Greek sanctuaries see J. N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, Oxford 1999, 29–31.

⁴ Especially, R. Levy, *Mesocosm: Hinduism and the Organization of a Traditional Newar City in Nepal*, Berkeley 1990.

⁵ Note Jameson's interest in Levy's work also in "The Ritual of the Athena Nike Parapet," in R. Osborne and S. Hornblower, eds., *Ritual, Finance, Politics: Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*, Oxford 1994, [note 13](#) ([Chapter 7](#) this volume, pp. 127–44); "The Spectacular and the Obscure in Greek Religion," in S. Goldhill and R. Osborne, eds., *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*, Cambridge 1998, nn. 43, 46 and 60 ([Chapter 12](#) this volume, pp. 270–90); "Religion in the Athenian Democracy," in I. Morris and K. Raaflaub, eds., *Democracy 2500? Questions and Challenges*, Archaeological Institute of America Colloquia and Conference Papers 2, 1997, Dubuque IA 1998, 171 and [n. 35](#) ([Chapter 11](#) this volume, pp. 232–69).

fact that statues of Greek gods were so rarely carried in procession. Jameson, on the other hand, suggests that the Greek desire to control the sacred and a fear of losing their city's statues was behind this habit. The argument is not wholly convincing. In addition to the fact that the opposition sacred/secular is a modern invention,⁶ there is very little in Greek religion that points to regular attempts to steal other cities' statues. The solution should probably be sought elsewhere. For the Greeks, statues could be dangerous and were sometimes chained or fettered. As an encounter with a god was always precarious, the Greeks were reluctant about displaying the statues of their gods all too often and all too openly.⁷

Against Levy, Jameson also notes the lack of information about the creation of sacred space, a subject that has been largely neglected by students of Greek religion.⁸ He persuasively argues that an important reason for this is the absence of a clergy or caste of religious experts. Instead we have the "literati," the "enthusiasts and technicians of marked symbolism," rather than Levy's rationalizing "intelligentsia," who will have determined the place of temples and other holy places. In contrast with South Asian communities, these literati comprised not only religious experts but also poets, sophists, philosophers, historians, and physicians; in fact, all free male Greek citizens could have a say in religious matters.⁹

Despite these objections, Jameson does not deny the occurrence of an "enlightenment" in the later fifth century, which he is inclined to ascribe to the "largely secular political tradition." Quite fascinatingly, he suggests that the "enlightenment may actually have fostered a more intense deployment of traditional resources," which ensured that "Greece's traditional culture only reached its acme when new winds were blowing (and even because of them) but before they had swept away the delicate links that held the

⁶ As Jameson 1998b, 171, also noted; cf. Bremmer "'Religion,' 'Ritual' and the Opposition 'Sacred vs. Profane': Notes towards a Terminological 'Genealogy,'" in F. Graf, ed., *Ansichten griechischer Rituale: Festschrift für Walter Burkert*, Stuttgart 1998, 9–32.

⁷ See especially W. Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, tr. J. Raffan, Cambridge, MA 1985, 84–92; F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, Rome 1985, 81–96; C. A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual*, New York 1992, 136–40; J. N. Bremmer, "The Agency of Greek and Roman Statues: From Homer to Constantine," *Opuscula* 6, 2013, 7–21.

⁸ But note Jameson 1998a, 339; see also I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, Leiden 1987, and "La place des dieux dans la cité des hommes: Le découpage des aires sacrées dans les colonies grecques," *RevHistRel* 204, 1987, 331–52; T. Hölscher, *Öffentliche Räume in frühen griechischen Städten*, Heidelberg 1999.

⁹ See also Jameson 1998b, 190 and n. 130, from which I have taken the translation of *literati* and where he reiterates his point on the difference between *literati* and *intelligentsia*, which was clearly important to him. "Religion" is connected in more than one way with the study of Bhaktapur.

culture together.”¹⁰ In the end, then, Jameson rightly declines to go along with Levy in distinguishing rationalizing features in Archaic and Classical Greek culture. Instead, in this somewhat essayistic contribution, Jameson suggests a much more sophisticated model in which tradition and renewal needed one another to produce the “Greek miracle.”

Yet (symbolic) space was not the main subject of Jameson’s work on Greek religion. Neither was myth. Unlike other students of Greek religion in recent decades, Jameson rarely concentrated on mythical themes. The exceptions are his studies of Labdacus, Oedipus’ grandfather, and of Perseus. The reasons for these choices are perhaps not so surprising. Jameson was very much an epigraphist,¹¹ whom David Lewis (1928–94) rightly asked to prepare several texts of Attic cult inscriptions for the third edition of *Inscriptiones Graecae* I. Labdacus had clearly drawn Jameson’s attention because the Corinthian lambda, unlike the Boeotian one, had one stroke shorter than the other. Jameson connects the “lameness” of Labdacus to other stories of lame kings and observes that “lameness is one way of marking the anticipated break-up of order and the failure of rule.”¹² This brilliant observation is matched by the equally brilliant “Perseus, the Hero of Mycenae,” which also takes its point of departure in epigraphy.¹³ Given the interest in the relationship between myth and ritual in recent decades, it is remarkable how balanced Jameson’s approach was.¹⁴ He notes the

¹⁰ M. H. Jameson, “Sacred Space and the City: Greece and Bhaktapur,” *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 1, 1997, 495 (Chapter 13 this volume, pp. 302–15). Regarding the importance of the political tradition, as in Jameson 1998b, 190, Jameson follows S. C. Humphreys, “Dynamics of the Greek Break-through: The Dialogue between Philosophy and Religion,” in S. N. Eisenstadt, ed., *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations*, Albany, NY 1986, 92–110 (repr. with an epilogue in S. C. Humphreys, *The Strangeness of Gods*, Oxford 2004, 51–76).

¹¹ Note also his necrologies of two prominent epigraphers: “Georges Daux (21 September 1899–23 December 1988),” *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.* 139, 1995, 77–80; “Antony Erich Raubitschek, 1912–1999,” *AJA* 103, 1999, 697–8.

¹² “Labda, Lambda, Labdacus,” in M. del Chiaro, ed., *Corinthiaca: Studies in Honor of Darrell A. Amyx*, Columbia, MO 1986, 10 (Chapter 9 this volume, pp. 186–97), which has been overlooked in the two most recent discussions of Eumelus: M. L. West, “‘Eumelus’: A Corinthian Epic Cycle?,” *JHS* 122, 2002, 109–132 (repr. in West, *Hellenica I*, Oxford 2011, 353–91) and A. Debiasi, *L’epica perduta*, Rome 2004. Jameson’s study is much more persuasive than the better-known study by J.-P. Vernant, “From Oedipus to Periander: Lameness, Tyranny, Incest in Legend and History,” *Arethusa* 15, 1982, 19–38 (repr. in R. Buxton, ed., *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion*, Oxford 2000, 109–32).

¹³ “Perseus, the Hero of Mykenai,” in G. Nordquist, ed., *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid*, *ActaAth* 4⁰–40, Stockholm 1990, 213–23 (Chapter 2 this volume, pp. 22–40).

¹⁴ For current thought, see now J. N. Bremmer, “Myth and Ritual in Ancient Greece: Observations on a Difficult Relationship,” in R. von Haehling, ed., *Griechische Mythologie und*

influence of the Ancient Near East on the Perseus myth,¹⁵ but concludes with a sophisticated model showing that the local Peloponnesian rites of separation from the home and the mother were connected with the myth from the Near East, which in turn may have been influenced by the Spartan rituals. The relationship between myth and ritual is always complicated, and myths could indeed be attached to rituals that originally had nothing to do with them.¹⁶ Even if we cannot trace the exact ways of influence, Jameson's argument is a model of careful and imaginative reasoning that will be hard to improve upon.

Neither did Jameson concentrate much on specific gods. Although certain divinities, such as Apollo and Dionysus, have attracted much contemporary interest, the gods have not been at the center of scholarly debate in recent decades. Yet in this field, too, Jameson made some noteworthy contributions. He showed that Apollo Lykeios was the god of the adult men in their military capacity, the hoplites that had completed their preparation for adulthood. It is this role of Apollo on the brink of adulthood, which may have materialized differently in different Greek cities – sometimes just before adulthood, sometimes just after – that has also been accepted and confirmed by later studies.¹⁷ In “The Asexuality of Dionysus,” he notes the god's feminine side as well as his lack of sexual interest in women, which he explains as mediating between male and female. Yet such an explanation is hardly satisfactory, and one cannot escape the impression that Jameson himself felt that too. Unfortunately, his piece appeared just before the publication of several Macedonian inscriptions with dedications to Dionysus Pseudanor,¹⁸ “Pseudo-Male,” which clearly connect Dionysus' less than masculine *persona* with initiation.¹⁹ The final god Jameson studied in greater detail was Zeus Meilichius, and we will come back to him momentarily.

Frühchristentum, Darmstadt, 2005, 21–43 and “Walter Burkert on Ancient Myth and Ritual: Some Personal Observations,” in A. Bierl and W. Braungart, eds., *Gewalt und Opfer: Im Dialog mit Walter Burkert*, Berlin, 2010, 71–86.

¹⁵ See now B. Gufler, “Orientalische Wurzeln griechischer Gorgo-Darstellungen,” in M. Schuol et al., eds., *Grenzüberschreitungen: Formen des Kontakts zwischen Orient und Okzident im Altertum*, Stuttgart 2002, 61–81.

¹⁶ For other examples see F. Graf, “Das Götterbildnis aus dem Taurerland,” *AntW* 10, 1979, 33–41; A. Lardinois, “Greek Myths for Athenian Rituals,” *GRBS* 33, 1992, 313–27.

¹⁷ Graf 1985, 219–26; H. S. Versnel, *Transition and Reversal in Myth and Ritual*, Leiden 1993, 289–334; C.-F. de Roquin, “Apollon Lykeios dans la tragédie: dieu protecteur, dieu tueur, dieu de l'initiation,” *Kernos* 12, 1999, 99–123.

¹⁸ M. Hatzopoulos, *Cultes et rites de passage en Macédoine*, Athens 1994, 63–72.

¹⁹ See now E. Csapo, “Riding the Phallus for Dionysus: Iconology, Ritual, and Gender-Role De/construction,” *Phoenix* 51, 1997, 253–95; J. N. Bremmer, “Transvestite Dionysos,” *The Bucknell Review* 43, 1999, 183–200.

Jameson's most important contributions to Greek religion, undoubtedly, are in the field of sacrifice and the nature of Greek religion. Several of his articles are pioneering ones, and they constantly remind us that Jameson was an excellent epigraphist. This is also, it seems to me, one of the main differences between him and other contemporary towering figures of Greek sacrifice and religion, namely Walter Burkert and Jean-Pierre Vernant (1914–2007).²⁰

Although the former always takes inscriptions into account, he basically remains a scholar of literary texts, and the latter paid little attention to inscriptions at all. Jameson always took the many sacrificial inscriptions of the Greek world as his point of departure, and if necessary combined these with iconographical evidence. Moreover, he was less a scholar of religion in general and more interested in Greek social and political history than most other students of Greek religion. Consequently, we do not find grand theories in his work but regular references to contemporary social and political developments of the rituals he analyzed. It is these interests that lend a specific “color” to his work and mark its individuality.

Regarding sacrifice, Jameson did not focus on the grand sacrificial theories that played a big role in scholarly discussions of the 1970s and 1980s.²¹ Instead, he firmly concentrated on relatively small details,²² such as the consultation of the gods by means of inspecting a roasting tail of a sacrificial victim,²³ but also on neglected types of sacrifice such as the theoxenia,

²⁰ See especially W. Burkert, *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrifice and Myth*, tr. J. Raffan, Berkeley 1983; M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, eds., *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks*, Chicago 1989. For a reconsideration of the latter book, see now S. Georgoudi, R. Koch Piettre, and F. Schmidt, eds., *La cuisine et l'autel: les sacrifices en questions dans les sociétés de la Méditerranée ancienne*, Turnhout 2005.

²¹ The exception are the brief remarks in M. H. Jameson, “Sacrifice and Ritual: Greece,” in M. Grant and R. Kitzinger, eds., *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome*, vol. 2, New York 1988, 977–8; see now J. N. Bremmer, “Greek Normative Animal Sacrifice,” in D. Ogden, ed., *Blackwell Companion to Greek Religion*, Oxford 2007, 132–44, for an analysis of the main theses by Karl Meuli (1891–1968), Burkert, and Vernant; several studies in C. A. Faraone and F. Naiden, eds., *Greek and Roman Animal Sacrifice*, Cambridge, 2012. See also I. Rutherford and S. Hitch, eds., *Greek Animal Sacrifice* (Cambridge, forthcoming).

²² But see the more popular Jameson 1988b and Jameson 1998a (Chapter 12 this volume, pp. 270–90).

²³ “Sophocles, *Antigone* 1005–1022: An Illustration,” in M. J. Cropp, E. Fantham, and S. E. Scully, eds., *Greek Tragedy and its Heritage: Essays Presented to D. Conacher*, Calgary, Alberta 1986, 59–65 (Chapter 5 this volume, pp. 88–97); see also F. T. van Straten, “The God's Portion in Greek Sacrificial Representations: Is the Tail Doing Nicely?,” in R. Hägg et al., eds., *Early Greek Cult Practice*, Stockholm 1988, 51–68, and his *Hiera Kala: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*, Leiden 1995, 118–41; J. Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia: Attische Tieropferdarstellungen auf schwarz- und rotfigurigen Vasen*, Münster 2002, 437–43. Add that the tail indeed is sometimes lacking in excavated sacrificial remains: M. Stanzel, *Die Tierreste aus dem Artemis-/Apollon-Heiligtum bei Kalapodi in Böotien/Griechenland*, Diss. Munich 1991, 22,

which he had originally discussed in his unpublished 1949 dissertation, and in “Theoxenia” and “Sacrifice before Battle.”²⁴ His most important general point was perhaps that the conglomerate of actions that modern scholars have grouped together under the category “sacrifice” has to be contextualized every time that we analyze single examples. His own study “Sacrifice before Battle” is a very fine example of such an approach, in which he carefully notes the different stages of the battle and the different circumstances in which the Greeks brought their σφάγια, “battle sacrifice,” from divination to the brutal, “We kill. May we kill.” This type of sacrifice is also a fine illustration of an observation he made in a different context: “Generally, the purposes expressed in these powerful actions overshadowed the notion of communication with a particular deity.”²⁵

Especially valuable is his connection of the historical battle sacrifice with the mythical and legendary human sacrifices of the Greeks. Although the roots of these sacrifices are diverse, Jameson argues convincingly that they can be seen as reflections of the atmosphere of a “community in crisis.” Animal battle sacrifice spilled over, so to speak, into the imagination of human sacrifices. Although he naturally cites the sacrifice of Iphigeneia as the most obvious of these sacrifices in times of crisis,²⁶ we may perhaps add Polyxena, several representations of whose death have recently turned up.²⁷

44, 162; J. Boessneck and A. von den Driesch, *Knochenabfall von Opfermahlen und Weihgaben aus dem Heraion von Samos*, Munich 1988, 8.

²⁴ M. H. Jameson, *The Offering at Meals: Its Place in Greek Sacrifice*, Diss. Chicago 1949; M. H. Jameson, “Theoxenia,” in R. Hägg, ed., *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence*, *ActaAth* 80–13, Stockholm 1994, 35–57 (Chapter 8, this volume, pp. 145–76), which was overlooked by P. Veyne, “Inviter les dieux, sacrifier, banqueter: Quelques nuances de la religiosité gréco-romaine,” *Annales* 55, 2000, 3–42; M. H. Jameson, “Sacrifice before Battle,” in V. D. Hanson, ed., *Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience*, London 1991, 197–227 (Chapter 6 this volume, pp. 98–126), which was elaborated in Jameson 1994a (Chapter 7 this volume, pp. 127–44); for the latter sacrifice, see also F. Jouan, “Comment partir en guerre en Grèce antique en ayant les dieux pour soi,” *Revue de la société Ernest Renan* 40, 1990/1, 25–42 (also on rites of crossing water); R. Parker, “Sacrifice and Battle,” in H. van Wees, ed., *War and Violence in Ancient Greece*, Swansea 2000, 299–314.

²⁵ Jameson 1988b, 975.

²⁶ Iphigeneia: see now J. N. Bremmer, “Sacrificing a Child in Ancient Greece: The Case of Iphigeneia,” in E. Noort and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, Leiden 2001, 21–43; G. Ekroth, “Inventing Iphigeneia? On Euripides and the Cultic Construction of Brauron,” *Kernos* 16, 2003, 59–118.

²⁷ In Jameson 1988b, 975, Polyxena is mentioned, but see now G. Schwarz, “Der Tod und das Mädchen: Frühe Polyxena-Bilder,” *AthMitt* 116, 2001, 35–50; J. N. Bremmer, “Myth and Ritual in Greek Human Sacrifice: Lykaon, Polyxena and the Case of the Rhodian Criminal,” in J. N. Bremmer, ed., *The Strange World of Human Sacrifice*, Leuven 2007, 55–79 at 59–65; P. Linant de Bellefonds, “Polyxene,” in *LIMC Suppl.* 2009, Düsseldorf 2009, 430–2; J. Mylonopoulos, “Gory Details? The Iconography of Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greek Art,” in P. Bonnechere and R. Gagné, eds., *Sacrifices humains: Perspectives croisées et représentations/Human Sacrifice: Cross-cultural Perspectives and Representations*, Liège 2013, 61–85.

Jameson's other important contribution to the study of sacrifice was the grounding of sacrifice in the agricultural world of the Greeks. Like space, agriculture was an important focus of his work. His very first article is still an important contribution to our knowledge of rites of plowing,²⁸ but he also wrote on agriculture and slavery, as well as on famine.²⁹ It is this deep familiarity with the ancient agricultural world that makes his "Sacrifice and Animal Husbandry in Classical Greece" so valuable, and in which sacrificial inscriptions are once again his most important sources.³⁰ As he shows, it is the availability and habits of different animals that make ancient Greeks use them for different purposes. Moreover, and this is a bold and most important observation, the pastoral year probably influenced both the timing of the festivals over the year and the nature of their victims.³¹ Once again it is the context that counts for Jameson, not the grand theories.

Regarding Jameson's contribution to the nature of Greek religion in general, I would single out two issues that are of continuing interest. First, in recent decades, the great importance of the "polis" for Greek religion has been forcefully argued by Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood,³² and the studies of Athenian religion by Robert Parker can be seen as a brilliant realization of this program.³³ Jameson, on the other hand, stressed that we should not overlook the religious activities of resident foreigners, women, families,³⁴ social groups,³⁵ and individual households.³⁶ In this connection he also pointed to the cautionary example of Zeus Meilichius, a god that had already drawn his attention in his study of the sacrificial calendar of

²⁸ M. H. Jameson, "The Hero Echetaeus," *TAPA* 82, 1951, 49–61 (Chapter 1 this volume, pp. 9–21) insufficiently valued by R. Hošek, "Echetlos," *LIMC* III.1, 1986, 677–9.

²⁹ M. H. Jameson, "Agriculture and Slavery in Classical Athens," *CJ* 73, 1977/78, 122–45; M. H. Jameson, "Famine in the Greek World," in P. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker, eds., *Trade and Famine in Classical Antiquity*, *CPhS* Suppl. 8, 1983, 6–16; M. H. Jameson, "On Paul Cartledge, 'The Political Economy of Greek Slavery,'" in P. Cartledge, E. E. Cohen, and L. Foxhall, eds., *Money, Labour and Land: Approaches to the Economies of Ancient Greece*, London 2002, 167–74.

³⁰ M. H. Jameson, "Sacrifice and Animal Husbandry in Classical Greece," in C. R. Whittaker, ed., *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity*, *CPhS* Suppl., 14, 1988, 115–19 (Chapter 10 this volume, pp. 198–231).

³¹ Similarly, R. Parker, "Festivals of the Attic Demes," in T. Linders and G. Nordquist, eds., *Gifts to the Gods*, Uppsala 1987, 137–47.

³² C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "What is *Polis* Religion?," in O. Murray and S. Price, eds., *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, Oxford 1990, 295–322, and "Further Aspects of *Polis* Religion," *AnnArchStorAnt* 10, 1998, 259–74, repr. in R. Buxton, ed., *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion*, Oxford 2000, 13–55.

³³ R. Parker, *Athenian Religion*, Oxford 1996, and *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, Oxford 2005.

³⁴ Jameson 1998b, 171–3 (Chapter 11 this volume, pp. 232–69).

³⁵ M. H. Jameson, D. R. Jordan, and R. D. Kotansky, *A Lex sacra from Selinous*, *GRBM* 11, 1993, Durham, NC 101–2, 114–16 (also on Apollo Lykeios).

³⁶ See also M. H. Jameson, "A Hero Cult at Halieis," in S. Böhm and K.-V. von Eickstedt, eds., *IThAKH: Festschrift für Jörg Schäfer*, Würzburg 2001, 197–202.

Erchia.³⁷ The worshippers of this god included not only specific civic groups but also foreigners and women; usually there was not even a temple. In other words, without denying the importance of the polis, Jameson notes that we should also keep in mind other members of the community, be they smaller groups or individuals, on whom the polis may have had very little influence.³⁸

Finally, let us return to Jameson's study of Bhaktapur with which we began. Both here and in "Religion in the Athenian Democracy," he engages the problem of diachronic development.³⁹ But whereas in the former he stresses continuity, in the latter he carefully tries to assess possible changes and crises brought about by the democracy. Democracy clearly expanded the sacrificial community, favored cows as victims in the great festivals rather than the normal sheep and goats, let the state assume costs, and took an interest in new priesthoods, such as those of Bendis and Asclepius.⁴⁰ But in the end, the changes after the reforms of Cleisthenes and the building of the Parthenon are relatively minor,⁴¹ and most Athenians seem to have gone on with their worship independently of the state. Consequently, Jameson is rather doubtful about the far-ranging claims that have been made about the decline of Athenian religion. Although he notes the process against Socrates and the influential teaching of the sophists and the philosophers, he nevertheless concludes that "it would seem that for the majority, religion under the fourth-century democracy did not differ greatly from that of the fifth century."⁴²

Personally, I think that this is very much the epigraphist's view, as on the level of ritual, as encountered in our inscriptions, indeed not that much had changed. Yet on the level of thought, atheism now became a possibility

³⁷ M. H. Jameson, "Notes on the Sacrificial Calendar from Erchia," *BCH* 89, 1965, 159–72; see also Jameson *et al.*, 1993, 81–103 and Jameson 1998b, 173.

³⁸ Unfortunately, his approach has gone unnoticed in recent critiques of the polis religion model. See J. N. Bremmer, "Manteis, Magic, Mysteries and Mythography: Messy Margins of Polis Religion?" *Kernos* 23, 2010, 13–35; E. Eidinow, "Networks and Narratives: A Model for Ancient Greek Religion," *Kernos* 24, 2011, 9–38; J. Rüpke, "Lived Ancient Religion: Questioning 'Cults' and 'Polis Religion'," *Mythos* n.s. 5, 2011, 191–204; J. Kindt, *Rethinking Greek Religion*, Cambridge 2012.

³⁹ Jameson 1998b (Chapter 11 this volume, pp. 232–69).

⁴⁰ For the Athenian reaction to the new gods, see now, with bibliography, W. Allan, "Religious Syncretism: The New Gods of Greek Tragedy," *HSCP* 102, 2004, 112–55.

⁴¹ See also H. Versnel, "Religion and Democracy," in W. Eder, ed., *Die athenische Demokratie im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.: Vollendung oder Verfall einer Verfassungsform?*, Stuttgart 1995, 367–88.

⁴² Jameson 1998b, 191; add now Philodemus, *On Piety*, 1696–7, Obbink, to Jameson's evidence on the charge against Socrates; for the process itself, see R. Parker 1996a, 199–207; P. Millett, "The Trial of Socrates Revisited," *European Review of History* 12, 2005, 23–62.

and the role of the gods increasingly problematic.⁴³ It may even be that Jameson himself was not quite certain about the changes. In his more or less contemporary study “The Spectacular and the Obscure in Greek Religion,” he notes that participation in the *demes* had strongly diminished and concludes: “This points to a view of religion which, while still very different from that, say, of the post-Reformation western world, is also distinct from what had been traditional in Greece.”⁴⁴

These somewhat conflicting views point to a mind that continuously weighed the evidence and a scholar who was not afraid to change his opinion. Jameson’s interest in religion may have owed something to his having been raised in a mixed marriage. His mother, Rose Perel Jameson, was Jewish, but his father, Raymond D. Jameson, was the son of a Protestant preacher, although he himself did lead “a pretty unpreacherlike life,” as Jameson once wrote to a distant relative. Yet although he was a Zionist in his teens, religion did not play a role in the family and the education of his children, except for explaining to his children the historical circumstances of Christianity during, for example, a visit to a cathedral. Being able to call no one tradition really home, he came at Greek religion from an open-minded, curious place. It was probably just as significant that he grew up multiculturally: living in Beijing, London, and Chicago; serving as a Japanese translator during the Second World War and spending time in Japan just after the war; and later spending a considerable proportion of his time in Greece. Admittedly, it is often difficult to trace the sources of a scholar’s interests with any certainty. Yet one thing is certain: the openness regarding the problem of change and/or continuity of Greek religion we just noted is also characteristic of Jameson’s work as a whole and should serve as a model for all students of Greek religion.⁴⁵

⁴³ See J. N. Bremmer, “Atheism in Antiquity,” in M. Martin, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Atheism*, Cambridge 2006, 11–26.

⁴⁴ Jameson 1998a, 338.

⁴⁵ I am much indebted to Maud Gleason and Anthony Jameson for discussing Michael Jameson’s religious interests with me and to Kristina Meinking and Irene Polinskaya for their thoughtful corrections and suggestions.

Introduction

Robert Levy, in the course of his many-layered study of the Newar city of Bhaktapur, has developed a complex and subtle analysis of a type of large, traditional, “archaic” as opposed to “modern” city, the terms referring to their character rather than their chronology.¹ Such cities, the result of primary urbanization when a number of smaller communities coalesce, stand in contrast both to smaller and simpler, face-to-face societies, such as Piri, which Levy studied in Polynesia, as well as to the cosmopolitan, “modern” cities composed of diverse cultural constituents. The archaic cities (as we will term them) have been described as cities of “orthogenetic transformation”, i.e. they are primarily the products of the direct continuation and development of the local culture.² The traditional moral order prevails over the operation of economic forces.

In the small communities, such as Piri, symbolism, particularly that of space, is largely embedded, conceived of as part of the natural, everyday order of things. In the “modern” city, space is organized for practical, rationalized purposes, even when a deliberate symbolic function is assigned to it (as, for instance, in the location of l’Arc de Triomphe in Paris or the Capitol in Washington). The archaic city, however, makes use of both embedded

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¹ I draw largely on Robert Levy’s *Mesocosm: Hinduism and the Organization of a Traditional Newar City in Nepal*, Berkeley 1990, especially chs. 7 and 8, and Levy, “The Power of Space in a Traditional Hindu City,” *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 1, 1997, 55–71, as well as much conversation and correspondence with him. Bob Levy generously undertook to give the opening address to a conference on “The Organization of Space in the Ancient World,” held in Tallahassee, in March of 1994, under the auspices of the Department of Classics of Florida State University. That paper, which was the origin of Levy 1997, and his much appreciated participation in the conference have prompted the present essay as thanks to him for the many insights and intellectual challenges his work has offered.

² Cf. R. Redfield, *The Primitive World and its Transformations*, Ithaca, NY 1953 and R. Redfield and M. B. Singer, “The Cultural Role of Cities,” *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 2, 1954, 53–73, to whom Levy and this essay are much indebted, and P. Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters: A Preliminary Enquiry into the Origins and Character of the Ancient Chinese City*, Chicago 1971, 392.

symbolism and what Levy calls “marked symbolism,” which consciously sets apart the extraordinary, the “sacralized,” from the ordinary and mundane in order to organize and give meaning to the experience of its members, in accordance with rhythms of time and place, conceived of as traditional and deeply rooted in history.

The study of the symbolic organization of complex communities, such as Levy’s study of Bhaktapur, offers exceptionally useful comparanda and stimulus to the student of classical Greece. The late Moses Finley, in a call that has remained largely (totally?) unheeded, recommended

the comparative study of literate, post-primitive . . . pre-industrial, historical societies . . . For most of the concerns of the classicist . . . pre-Maoist China, pre-colonial India, medieval Europe, pre-revolutionary Russia, and medieval Islam offer a more appropriate field for the systematic investigations of uniformities and differences, and therefore for an increased understanding of the society and culture of his own discipline.³

In classical Greece the stage for public religion was the city–state or polis, composed of a central town and an agricultural and pastoral hinterland, the *chora*. The city–states that shared Greek culture were numbered in the hundreds but for only a few does our evidence permit a detailed description. That can best be done for one of the largest, Athens, which at its height had perhaps between twice and three times the population of Bhaktapur living in the town (ca. 100–150,000), and as many again in the *chora* of some 2,500 sq. km. Studies of Greek religion have often been preoccupied with a search for primitive origins and have neglected the historical context of the cities from which our evidence comes, though happily this is now changing. Nonetheless, Levy’s research provides an instructive demonstration that it is not in small-scale and structurally relatively simple communities (such as those of early Greece and the many lesser poleis later), that “communal religion, at least, is an organizational resource exploited in its fullest form,” but “in large and complex ‘archaic’ communities.” An essential feature “for the integration of small component units into a complex city is the expansion and differentiation of dramatic, attention-grabbing, deeply interesting and compelling religious forms.”⁴ In the present essay I hope to expand on a

³ M. I. Finley, “Anthropology and the Classics,” in *The Use and Abuse of History*, New York 1975, 119. Finley insisted on “the attribute historical because the larger more complex societies . . . which anthropologists do study are severely contaminated by their contacts with the modern European world.” Levy’s sensitivity to this problem combined with the incomparable benefits of first-hand observation and interrogation make his study of Bhaktapur thoroughly appropriate for inclusion. In any case, the city he described is now, effectively, historical.

⁴ Levy 1997, 61.

number of issues that Levy has already raised in opening a discussion of comparisons between one highly developed, polytheistic society and the classical Greek cities.

Many of the elements that constitute the symbolic world of Bhaktapur offer striking analogies with Classical Greece (analogies only, as I have no view on possible common Indo-European inheritances). There are the polytheistic pantheon, its composition varying according to context and diverging often sharply between cult and story (myth); the parallels between the at once dangerous and protective female Tantric deities and Greek chthonic figures; the mapping of the city's topography by means of sacred sites which range from elaborate buildings (not designed to accommodate a congregation) to natural phenomena (rocks, springs, trees); the movement of religious processions through that topography, activating, like an electric current, the landscape's potential symbolism; the concern with boundaries, particularly those between order and chaos, and the threatened collapse of order at crossroads, the locus of polluting materials and experiences; the festival calendar's ordering of the social and supernatural relations of the city's inhabitants – to list only some of the more obvious. These similarities encourage one to think that it would be rewarding to consider how the analyses Levy has offered for Bhaktapur can contribute to understanding the Greek polis. When some of the parallels we have adduced are examined, interesting differences become apparent.

Levy has noted that major differences between the two worlds come from the impact of what is sometimes called the Greek enlightenment, beginning in the sixth century BC. With the advent of philosophy and other intellectual disciplines as enterprises to some degree independent of their social and political functions, there begins the self-conscious analysis of the natural world and human society in which we are still engaged, and which is quite foreign to the traditional archaic city exemplified by Bhaktapur. Whereas Bhaktapur makes use of (1) the embedded, intuitive symbolism of simple communities, and (2) the richly elaborated and marked symbolism of the archaic city, the Greek cities share in the first two but have also begun (3) the rationalizing process characteristic of the modern, secular city.

Levy cites several aspects of the treatment of space as revealing this process: (a) the geometric grid of streets bounding blocks of houses in Greek city plans which sets the individual, private household in the framework of a rationalized, public uniformity; (b) the rare practice of moving images of the gods through the city in processions, in contrast with its common use in Bhaktapur (and, it might be added, in some forms of Orthodox and Catholic Christianity), an avoidance taken to come from a desire to keep

the sacred clearly distinct from secular space; (c) the high development of the theater (primarily in Athens but with far-reaching influence) where the community, however much engaged in the themes of the drama, is distanced as spectators of a performance rather than as active participants in a ritual. The drama becomes available for contemplation and examination. All these seem to the South Asia specialist suggestive of a concern to separate the sacred and the secular, to limit the role of the sacred in the life of a largely rationalized, pragmatic community, the product of an ongoing social and intellectual transformation.⁵

The general distinction between the South Asian and the Greek archaic city is valid: the larger Greek cities are in some respects on their way to resembling the pragmatic, modern city. When one comes to consider the particular examples, however, it becomes necessary to separate what are persistent characteristics of Greek culture as a whole, what is distinctive of a particular historical period, and what are the consequences of the rationalizing “breakthrough.” Furthermore the coincidence of that breakthrough with an overall social and economic transition to a different kind of city is not precise nor without problems, although I have no doubt that the relationship deserves much more attention than it has received so far.⁶

⁵ Levy also calls attention to something that has more to do with social roles than with space: the prominence of honored or honor-seeking individuals in processions and other public ceremonies, whereas in Bhaktapur the prominence of individuals is incompatible with traditional roles. The Greek practice is to be seen in the light of the importance of competition in all aspects of life from the time of our earliest sources, the Homeric poems of ca. 700 BC. It is a characteristic cultural trait, fully institutionalized, and not a sign of the breakdown of traditional anonymity. Cf. A. W. Gouldner, *Enter Plato: Classical Greece and the Origins of Social Theory*, New York 1965, ch. 2; S. C. Humphreys, “Dynamics of the Greek Break-through: The Dialogue between Philosophy and Religion,” in S. N. Eisenstadt, ed., *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations*, Albany, NY 1986, 497, n. 18, sees a change in the Classical period with leading figures in ritual no longer acting to maintain their status as in the elite-dominated earlier centuries but representing appropriate values for the city. This would be consistent with the greater egalitarianism of the fifth–fourth centuries and the conscious promotion of a polis ideology. The shift, however, was only partial and by the Hellenistic period (third century BC onwards, in cultural terms), from which Levy draws his example, the balance had shifted back again.

⁶ On the “breakthrough” see Humphreys 1986, and *Anthropology and the Greeks*, London 1978, rewarding examinations of the impact of rationalism on traditional Greek religion, with an emphasis on the history of ideas rather than the social and economic aspects of, in Redfield’s phrase, secondary urbanization. But it should be borne in mind that historically the breakthrough was an uneven and only partial process. It should be noted that space and religion are treated here at the level of what Levy refers to as “the city-as-city.” Sacred and other space have significant symbolic functions both above and below the “mesocosmic” level of the city. I use “sacred” rather than “sacralizing” or “sacralized” (Levy’s terms) of space since the sacred (*hieros*) is clear cut in the Greek world and the process of making sacred that Levy detects in Bhaktapur is less evident. A Greek example would be the carrying of a sacrificed piglet around

City and country

Archaeological evidence shows that the earliest examples of the orthogonal grid of planned Greek towns go back to the late eighth century BC and that they are normal for all new settlements thereafter, while older settlements continued to expand or to rebuild, usually without design. Aristotle's attribution (*Pol.* II.1367b, and VII.1330b) of the concept to the fifth-century planner and theorist Hippodamus is now seen to be misleading.

Whereas settlements in those parts of Greece where Greeks had been long established grew by accretion, several hundred of the over 1,000 poleis of the classical period (fifth and fourth centuries BC) were the products of organized action to establish new communities, often overseas and hundreds of kilometers from their original homes; many of these drew their settlers from more than one old community. Under these circumstances, the overriding concern for the settlers in a new city was the recognition of the equal rights of each household (*oikos*) in the new polis. In a landscape that had yet to assert more than the most basic symbolic claims (those of heights and springs especially) and which was physically open to divisions, the practical problem of assigning equal lots of land within the central settlement and in the agricultural countryside to all founding members of the new polis was solved by land-surveying techniques probably learned from the Egyptians (*geometria* literally is "land measurement"). The process was public but primarily in the interest of the basic unit of the community, the *oikos*. It was not until the intellectual developments of the Classical period that a theory of the proper social and symbolic organization of towns emerged and this was associated with the name of Hippodamus.

In contrast with South Asian and Chinese cities, the layout of Greek cities had never been determined by a symbolic conception such as a *mandala* with a *yantra* inscribed within it, nor even oriented to compass points with or without attributed moral values.⁷ Even the agora, a central space for meeting for social and commercial purposes, regarded by the Greeks as distinctive of their culture (*Hdt.* 1.153.2), did not determine the plan of a city before the late Classical period, nor did the temples and altars located in or near the agora. The most that can be said is that many of the older nucleated settlements were adjacent to a high point, an acropolis (literally

the perimeter of a meeting place before a public gathering began its business. See R. Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford 1983, 21. For Greek religion, cf. W. Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, Cambridge, MA 1985, and R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History*, Oxford 1996.

⁷ For China, cf. Wheatley 1971, esp. ch. 5.

“upper” or “higher polis”). In some cases this had been the site of a palace in the Mycenaean period of the sixteenth–twelfth centuries BC, in many it had served and sometimes continued to serve as an inner last line of defense, but in all it was thought to be a particularly appropriate site for sacred functions (as, notably, was the Acropolis of Athens). However, this view, that higher places were fitting for the gods, was not part of a complex conception of the city as a whole but closer to the obvious, embedded symbolism of simple communities. And yet it is one of the few principles of town-planning regularly mentioned and approved by the intellectuals of the fourth century BC and later, although in practice sacred sites were widely scattered throughout the town and the countryside, with a clustering around the acropolis and the agora (Xen. *Mem.* 3.8.10, Pl. *Leg.* VI.778c–d, Arist. *Pol.* VII.1331a 24–30, Paus. 9.22).⁸

A contributing but not determining factor here may be that Greek culture, up to the classical period at least, was predominantly oral. Writing had been reintroduced (following its loss at the end of the Mycenaean period) around 800 BC, and, while widespread in a variety of functions, seems to have been little used for secular or sacred laws and their commentary. Together with the absence of an institutionalized clergy and of sacred texts recognized beyond a small circle, the oral mode of preserving and exploring tradition may help to explain the lack of any worked-out visual, two-dimensional conception of sacred as opposed to secular space. It was only with the development of philosophy after the sixth century BC that some modest theory for the localization of the sacred comes to be recorded.

Consistent with the relative simplicity of the Greek concept of the town’s space was the lack of a sharp symbolic division between the inside and the outside of the town as seen in Bhaktapur, where actual walls need no longer be physically present for the distinction to remain valid. In the Greek cities fortification walls were normal but there were examples, such as Sparta, at times the leading power in Greece, which only built walls when its strength was declining. The earliest Greek poetry, the Homeric epics, impressed on all Greeks ever after the symbolism of the integrity of the walls as representing the safety of the city. But in historical times city walls had almost entirely practical functions and for the most part were not associated with shrines,

⁸ Xenophon (fourth century BC) and Pausanias (second century AD) approved the isolation of sacred shrines from the normal life of the city, but neither one had a worked-out theory of sacred space. Both practical and theoretical references show that a proportion of the new land was always assigned to the gods as sites for shrines and as a source of income for sacrifices. The nature of their locations has to be learned from archaeology. Cf. I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, Leiden 1987, ch. 4.

altars and the ceremonies performed at them. The traditional symbolism of walls was now attached to the acropolis, conceived of as the original city (a conception made easier by the use at Athens into the fifth century BC of the word “polis” for the acropolis as well as in the general sense of “city”). So effective has been this transfer that archaeologists exploring what is taken to be the site of Troy have for over a century largely overlooked the ancient town in favor of the citadel.⁹

The use of stone boundary markers (*horoi*), often inscribed, was widespread in Greece for distinguishing sacred from secular space and, under certain conditions, the space of separate sub-communities from each other, but I know of none for the town as such, as opposed to the countryside. Although in the course of time (and again especially in the more urbanized Athens with an exceptionally large extra-urban territory) there developed an opposition between town and country as that between the sophisticated and the boorish, both secular and sacred institutions and symbolism were directed towards binding together town and countryside and town and country dwellers. Expulsion of polluted persons or objects was beyond the boundaries of the polis, the city–state, the union of town and countryside, not the town as such.

Nor did the Greek city appear to have the carefully worked out internal geography of the South Asian city with two opposing halves which engage in ceremonial battle, and with the 24 individual subdivisions demonstrating their identity and being visited in turn by festival processions. At first sight Athens’ “demes” and the Bhaktapuran *twahs* seem equivalent as wards in the city with individual organizations, cults, and festivals. But the Athenian deme was found in the countryside as well as the town (there were over 20 in the city and the port area of Piraeus, something under 120 elsewhere, including some sizeable country towns). Although deme membership was based on residence when first established in 508 BC, the Athenian male thereafter remained patrilineally attached to his ancestor’s deme wherever he now lived and however long he had lived there. The need to register for military and political purposes as well as the pull of a full calendar of festivals drew the Athenian back to his ancestral deme center. So even while Athens the city grew at the expense of the *chora*, many a citizen’s local ties

⁹ For walls in Homer, see S. Scully, *Homer and the Sacred City*, Ithaca, NY 1990, ch. 3. On the protection of gates and entrances in general, see C. A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual*, New York 1992. Considering how charged the concepts of boundaries and transition are for the Greeks as for most cultures, we need not be surprised that some exceptions can be found to the generalization I have offered. What is surprising is how few there are.

were not with the city neighborhood where he lived but with a country deme, at least into the third century BC.¹⁰

Another crucial factor in the internal organization in Bhaktapur is caste. Only certain areas of the city are appropriate for certain groups, and some must not reside within the city limits. The corresponding factor in Athens was status: citizen, free foreigner, slave. The participation of all but the citizens in public religion was extremely limited; it was the (adult male) citizens' party and they were sparing in their invitations. But while we know that foreigners lived particularly in the harbor town of Piraeus because the livelihood of many was based on the port, we hear of no restrictions on residence for free or slave non-citizens. Within private houses no distinct slave quarters can be deduced from the architecture.¹¹ All this is not to minimize the importance of status distinctions and the efforts made by citizens to make sure they were maintained. Exclusion was practiced in processions and ceremonies (with limited, formal exceptions for free foreign residents), not in the organization of space whether sacred or secular.

In what we have so far considered, the main difference between Bhaktapur and Greece is in the treatment of the elements of urban space. In Greece the town as such did not receive the attention it did in Asian cities, and the emphasis was on the unity of town and country. The Asian cities, to be sure, did not lack devices for binding town and country together, as Levy indicates. It is rather the sharp demarcation of the city or town that is absent from Greece.

Why was this so? For one thing, the great majority of Greek city-states (which may have reached 1,000 in number by the Classical period) had small populations, most of less than 3,000 in total, of which adult male citizens would have come to less than 1,000. Of these, most divided their time and residence between the agricultural countryside, the source of livelihood for the great majority, and the town. Larger towns probably grew from the association of a cluster of villages not far from the acropolis and from the increasing attention given to the social and political life of

¹⁰ "Deme" is an English rendering of the Greek word *demos* which is the same word as is used of the whole citizen population. The implication is that there was a correspondence between the local community and the people of the polis en masse. There was, thus, a political statement being made with the creation of the demes (the term does not seem to have been so used before 508): every Athenian community was composed of all free, native men. The essential evidence and analysis can be found in D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica, 508/7 – ca. 250 BC: A Political and Social Study*, Princeton 1986, and R. G. Osborne, *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attica*, Cambridge 1985.

¹¹ M. H. Jameson, "Private Space in the Greek City," in O. Murray and S. Price, eds., *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, Oxford 1990, 169–93.

the central settlements by the larger land-owners in more distant parts of the territory. A model of “synoecism” (*sunoikismos*), literally “a bringing together of households,” was used by those cities that did not differentiate politically between residents of the center and periphery. This was the Athenian explanation of their large, unified territory. That this was brought about by a single constitutional act, much less that of the legendary hero Theseus, is highly doubtful, to say the least.¹²

Why were shrines placed where they were? The recovery of the various patterns formed by their placement and of the implicit arguments (“system” would be too formal) underlying them has become in recent years an active sub-field of Greek archaeology. De Polignac in his influential study (1984, revised in English translation 1995) stressed the function of major extra-mural sanctuaries at a remove from the central settlement and constituting a second pole that asserts claims over the territory as a whole, especially for the formative stage of the city-state, before the Classical period. This has proved a more helpful explanation for the new, overseas settlements than for the older communities, though even in the former the shrines of the central settlement play an important part. Other factors in the siting of shrines were the relationship to neighboring communities on land and to visitors coming by sea and the association of certain deities with a particular type of topography.¹³

We lack texts for the doctrines on the creation of sacred space used by religious experts of the time (“literati” of the Archaic city rather than rationalizing “intelligentsia” to use the terms Levy takes from Redfield and Singer¹⁴) as unfortunately is also the case for sacrifices, purifications and the organization of festival calendars. The detail and precision of actual practice makes it clear that none of this was casual or haphazard. Explanations have to be inferred from what we can recover of practice. This lack of articulateness in an otherwise very articulate culture stems in part from the absence of a clerical class or caste and of sacred texts requiring exegesis, mentioned earlier. Knowledge of ritual and myth was widely diffused throughout the

¹² An alternative mode of integration is seen at Sparta which also had an unusually large territory. The dominant class in four adjacent settlements at the heart of the central valley of Laconia, together with a fifth settlement 7 km distant, reduced other natives of the valley to serfdom and kept the more remote communities in a subordinate status. Cf. P. Cartledge *Sparta and Lakonia: A Regional History 1300–362 BC*, London 1979.

¹³ See F. de Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State*, Chicago 1995; I. Malkin, “Review of François de Polignac’s *Cults, Territory and the Origins of the Greek City-State*,” *JHS* 97, 1987, 227–8; S. Alcock and R. G. Osborne, eds., *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, New York 1994.

¹⁴ Redfield and Singer 1954.

society. All adult males were potential sacrificers and although communal cults attempted to define the rights of recognized priests belonging to particular families, much remained unclear, and we hear of disputes and infringements that are branded as acts of impiety. However, the relative lack of precision may have been satisfactory for most people. Every Greek, in most aspects of life, liked to regard himself as an expert, a predilection seen as characteristic of democracies and thoroughly condemned by the philosopher Plato.

Plato and Aristotle, when describing ideal communities, were concerned to maintain traditional rites at pre-existing shrines in the territory of the new polis. For their new cities, they proposed a careful integration of shrines and political and social activities. This tight organization of new cults (of traditional gods) in town and countryside may represent a rationalizing of the principles of the traditional experts. In any case the result is, interestingly, closer to Bhaktapurian practice than to contemporary Greek reality. The full complexity of the archaic city seems in Greece not to have been achieved before the coming of the rationalism that also contributed to its end.

Keeping the sacred in place

The reason why images of the gods were not ordinarily carried in processions by the Greeks was explained by Walter Burkert as a desire to keep the sacred safely under control in its proper place: “such a moving of the immovable is an uncanny breaking up of order.”¹⁵ Levy has suggested that this is consistent with a rationalist, modernizing tendency to keep the sacred and secular carefully separated. In some respects, this separation is clear; Greek political and judicial decision-making was extraordinarily free from religious considerations. The role of oracles in politics seems to be an exception, but the presentation after the fact of supernatural guidance as decisive masks the options in interpretation that were available. This separation seems to have been true from the beginning of our evidence, so that it cannot be said to be the result of the rationalism of the enlightenment beginning in the sixth century.

In terms of space, however, the association of the political and the sacred had a long history. Officials met in sacred buildings, laws were inscribed on their stone walls (even though, as we have noted, the writing down of laws was not among the earliest or more common uses of writing), and

¹⁵ Burkert 1985, 92.

political assemblies took place in sanctuaries. We can trace the development of the Athenian agora as an increasingly public but non-commercial space in the fifth and fourth centuries. Buildings and areas for civic activities were constructed cheek by jowl with temples and shrines and some temples took on major civic functions, as was the case with the temple of the Mother of the Gods, the Metroön, which became the repository of the city's archives.¹⁶ Whether these functions diminished the sacred character of the buildings we cannot say. Plato, in his plans for a new city, explicitly wants sanctuaries to be in close proximity to the sites of civic activity. Again, the philosophers provide an argument for traditional practice rather than trying to isolate the sacred. But it seems clear that, as early as we can see, public activity had little need of being rescued from the irrational (Pl. *Leg.* VI.7778c–d, cf. V.745b–c, VIII.848c–d; Arist. *Pol.* VII.1331a).¹⁷

As for the relative absence of rituals that moved images of the gods through the community's space, this seems to derive less from an old fear of the breaking up of order or a newly acquired preference for keeping the sacred circumscribed than from a long-standing desire to keep the sacred securely under control and a fear that images might be stolen and their power lost, a concept along with other so-called magical notions the Greeks shared with the ancient Near East. A well-known story told of the taking of the image of Athena Pallas (the Palladium) from Troy and the deserved disaster that came upon its abductor. In ritual, a placatory sacrifice was required when a statue had for some reason to be moved. Nonetheless, under certain circumstances images themselves and not only symbols of the divinity were carried in procession or even borrowed by another city (Hdt. 5.81). Moving images may have been more common when statues were mostly of wood and of modest size, not large and made mostly of bronze or stone.¹⁸

¹⁶ Cf. H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 14, *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape and Uses of the Ancient City Center*, Princeton 1972; J. M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens*, New York 1986.

¹⁷ Unlike Irad Malkin, in his valuable study *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, 1987, 147, I see an emphasis on the proximity of sacred and secular public activity rather than on their separation in Plato and Aristotle, who would, however, isolate economic activity from political and social (and thus religious) life; this is explicit in Aristotle, implicit in Plato. For them a conspicuous location does not mean isolation.

¹⁸ For the Palladium, see Faraone 1992, 6–7. At Titane the statue of Coronis was moved out of the temple of Asclepius to that of Athena when Asclepius received sacrifice (Paus. 2.11.7). Some statues were given an annual washing in the sea, as was an old statue of Athena at Athens. See Parker 1996a, 307, n. 63. The best-known example of a statue periodically removed from the city to outside the town and then conveyed back in a procession is that of Dionysus Eleuthereus at Athens. An essential aspect of this god's character was his coming from outside, sometimes conceived of as a return. See H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, Ithaca, NY

Theater

The third and most complex issue raised by Levy (1997) concerns drama.¹⁹ Here symbolic space is less physical than conceptual – the audience is separated from the performers not just by their confinement to the spectator's area (*theatron*) in the theater of Dionysus but even more by their being presented with story, argument, music, dance and spectacle. What the spectators are offered is at once recognizable and detached from their own experience, something for them to react to immediately, to contemplate thereafter and to relate to. There is a marked contrast with the numerous participatory festivals, even though there were participatory elements in this very festival of Dionysus (the formal procession, the uninhibited celebration known as the *komos*, the musical contests in which many of the audience would have competed in their earlier years) and there were passive, spectators' experiences in non-dramatic festivals (such as Athens' greatest, the Panathenaea, with its athletic and musical contests). There have been valuable explorations recently of the social and political context of the Dionysia at which drama was performed, and of the engagement of many citizens in various aspects of the festival.²⁰ But the most important social consequence of the development of drama remains the experience of several thousand Athenians of the plays performed before their eyes.

The intellectual innovations associated with the Greek enlightenment get under way at about the same time as tragedy of a recognizable type began to be performed. The question of how much Attic drama owes to the enlightenment, how much the dramatists were influenced by the philosophers, has long engaged, and divided, classical scholars. Certainly all three surviving tragic poets (Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides) show, each in his own way, an engagement with intellectual issues of the day, as does Aristophanes, the one comic poet of the classical period of whom we have complete plays.²¹ But was the genre, the cultural artifact, of tragedy, fundamentally a product of the enlightenment?

1977, 125–35. Another important procession at Athens conveyed secret, sacred things (*hiera*), among which may have been images, first from the country town of Eleusis to Athens and then in a great procession back from Athens to Eleusis. See Parke 1977, 59–60. At Magnesia on the Maeander in Asia Minor, images of the Twelve Gods were carried in procession to a temporary structure where they were served a meal. J. E. Harrison, in *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, Cambridge 1912, 53–4 gives a summary of the ritual; her interpretation of the cult is controversial and is not relevant here.

¹⁹ Levy 1997.

²⁰ See S. Goldhill, "The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology," in J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin, eds., *Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in its Social Context*, Princeton 1990, 97–129.

²¹ See Humphreys 1986, 92–110.

We know too little of its simple antecedents to claim that drama had already taken shape in archaic Greece. More revealing is what we can see, on the basis of early fragments and Classical heirs to the tradition, of other choral performances at which dancers sang poems that told stories and drew morals. These choral performances and the traditions of Dionysiac festivals may be thought of as providing the setting and the forms which were developed and transmuted under the stimulus of the new ways of talking about and reflecting on the central issues of their culture. The inheritance of myth and ritual furnished the symbolic vocabulary for this discourse in the mouths of poets who, along with the more obscure and often overlooked religious experts, constituted the “literati” of the traditional culture. It was the conjunction in the fifth century (Greece’s golden age, as it is often called) of the traditional language understood by poets and audiences alike with the stimulus of new types of thinking that produced the richness and moral and intellectual excitement we recognize in Attic drama. It was probably only possible because Greek culture lacked the regulating order of established, authoritative texts and an institutionalized clergy. And its life was brief, while the tradition was still taken seriously by the reflective minority as well as the masses and before it was left empty by rational critiques or replaced by new, rationalized systems. Tragedies continued to be written and performed after the fifth century but none seemed to later readers worthy of the constant re-copying that has given us 32 texts. We owe them to a precarious cultural balance at the time of transition from the archaic city to one that was, if not entirely secular, much less dependent on a moral order, more pragmatic, modern and closer in many respects to communities of the contemporary westernized world than to traditional Bhaktapur.

Conclusions

Prompted by Robert Levy’s observations and questions, our brief review of symbolic space in ancient Greece suggests that some features of Greek culture that at first sight seem rationalist and modernizing, signs of the transformation of the archaic city, were deeply rooted in the culture of the city–states from as early as we can study them.²² It may be that they are factors that contributed to the intellectual process referred to as the

²² Malkin 1987a, 186: “The colonists of the eighth and seventh centuries BC therefore appear before us, long before the rise of speculative and critical philosophy, as the first Greeks who we know applied rational criteria to decisions concerning some of the most fundamental aspects of their religion.”

breakthrough or enlightenment which is not easily attributed entirely to economic and social changes in the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC. The largely secular political tradition is sometimes, and plausibly, invoked as a cause.²³ It should probably be seen as part of the overall ordering of the sacred vis-à-vis the profane. By the later fourth century BC, contact with a larger, multi-ethnic world and the growth of impersonal, market relationships produced or hastened secondary urbanization and with it the fracturing of a social coherence. In the intervening Classical period, in some areas such as drama, festival, and the visual arts, the first stirrings of the enlightenment may actually have fostered a more intense deployment of traditional resources. The symbolic use of space in the Greek cities probably never matched, despite important similarities, the more complex traditional systems of their South Asian counterparts. Greece's traditional culture only reached its acme when new winds were blowing (and even because of them) but before they had swept away the delicate links that held the culture together.

²³ Humphreys 1986.

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